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Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Norman, Oklahoma,  
under act of March 3, 1879. Office of publication: 111 South Peters  
Avenue, Norman, Oklahoma.

The SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY is supplied  
to all members of the Southwestern Social Science Association. The price  
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# THE SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

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THE QUARTERLY

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Vol. XX

September, 1939

No. 2

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## THE DEFEAT OF THE ADMINISTRATION REORGANIZATION BILL

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This article deals briefly with an item of legislative policy but more especially with a phenomenon. The item of legislative policy is the President's proposal for administrative reorganization, the re-alignment and re-allocation of the executive agencies of the government—a reform which has been universally advocated by experts in public administration for years. The phenomenon is the manner in which the people of the country reacted to the proposal and the vicissitudes of the bill's passage through the Congress. Many observers of national political activity were shocked and somewhat bewildered by the manner in which the reorganization proposal was opposed before the Congress in 1938. The main purpose of this paper is to analyze and estimate the basic reasons for the propaganda campaign which led to the defeat of the bill. To the person uninitiated into the mysteries of the lore of public administration, the substance of the proposal is flat and uninteresting; consequently, technicalities and complexities will be simplified as much as possible. After consideration of the bill itself, attention will be directed to the career of the bill through Congress and the tremendous pressure which was exerted upon the Congress to accomplish the defeat of the bill in April, 1938. This article is not concerned with the subsequent revival and passage of the bill in emasculated form in March of this year, nor with the recent action by the President under the authority vested in him by the bill as finally passed. Suffice it to say that the bill now in effect has had all objectionable features deleted from it and has so many specific exceptions to its provisions that it hardly resembles the original proposal.

## THE REORGANIZATION PROPOSAL

The President's Committee on Administrative Management was created by the President in March, 1936, to study national administrative management and report to the President.<sup>1</sup> The Committee made its report to the President on January 8, 1937, and on January 12 the President passed the report on as his recommendation to Congress. In brief, the proposal recommended the following:<sup>2</sup>

1. An expansion of the White House staff to enable the President to keep in easier and closer touch with the administrative branch.

2. Strengthening the managerial agencies of the government, especially the Bureau of the Budget, as management arms of the Chief Executive, so that the Bureau could perform efficiency research, personnel, and planning functions as well as budget drafting.

3. Extension of the merit system in all directions, and reorganization of the civil service system under a single administrator, with the Civil Service Commission retained only as the "watchdog of the merit system."

4. Integration of all executive agencies (including the executive functions of the independent boards and commissions, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission) under twelve major departments, including the ones we have now, with the Department of Interior changed to a Department of Conservation, and with Social Welfare and Public Works as additional departments.

5. Changing the Comptroller General to an Auditor General with a corresponding change in his function from a current audit to a post audit.

These were the recommendations made to the Congress. Although these recommendations embody some of the most advanced thinking in the field of public administration, they contain little or nothing with which many teachers of public administration can find reason to disagree.<sup>3</sup> The most serious objections raised in the course of the debate over the bill were as follows:

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<sup>1</sup>*Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management* (1937), p. viii.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup>See White, Leonard D., *Public Administration* (1939), *passim*.

1. The change in the Office of Comptroller General.
2. The single administrator for the civil service system.
3. The change of name for Interior and the establishment of the two new departments.
4. The placing of the quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial commissions under the various departments.

A further point of contention was the provision in the bill as introduced in Congress vesting the President with final authority to shuffle and re-allocate executive agencies among the twelve departments, provided the Congress did not overrule his decision by a two-thirds vote. Although such a provision is quite naturally objectionable to persons opposed to the incumbent president, it is quite understandable in view of the notorious amenability of Congress to the departmental lobbies.<sup>4</sup> So much for the bill itself. By far the more interesting aspect of the reorganization bill is its career through Congress, and attention will henceforth be directed toward that phenomenon.

#### THE DEFEAT OF THE BILL

The House passed several parts of the reorganization bill in the session of 1937, but the Senate devoted its whole attention to an omnibus bill containing the whole proposal and did nothing; and at the special session in the fall of 1937, both houses devoted their entire attention to the farm bill and the anti-lynching bill.<sup>5</sup> It was not until the middle of March, 1938, that further positive action was taken. In the Senate the advocates of the bill had at all times a definite majority. A motion by Senator Wheeler requiring the President to recommend only and to let Congress vote the changes was defeated on March 18.<sup>6</sup> Senator Byrd's motion to restore the Office of Comptroller General likewise lost.<sup>7</sup> After several other de-

<sup>4</sup>A good defense of both the ideology and procedures involved in the reorganization proposal is Graham, G. A., "Reorganization—A Question of Executive Institutions," 32 *American Political Science Review* (August, 1938), p. 708.

<sup>5</sup>Altman, C. R., "Second and Third Sessions of the Seventy-fifth Congress, 1937-38," 32 *American Political Science Review* (December, 1938), pp. 1108-9.

<sup>6</sup>*New York Times*, March 19, 1938, 1:2.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, March 25, 1938, 1:7.

cisions, all favorable to the bill's passage, the measure was finally approved by the Senate on March 28.<sup>8</sup>

Meantime the opposition to the bill was rising to a crescendo. Senator Byrnes on March 27 denounced the lobby against the bill; it was understood that his criticism was directed at Frank Gannett's "National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government."<sup>9</sup> The telegraph people in Washington stated on March 27 that the stream of telegrams had kept increasing evenly "until the radio speech of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin this afternoon, in which he urged his hearers to telegraph to Senators to reject the measure. The stream then grew to a torrent."<sup>10</sup> The guess was hazarded that the number of telegrams exceeded that in any case before; and it was estimated that between 6,000 and 7,000 telegrams were received between 4 and 8 p. m. on March 27. So bitter were the recriminations over the bill that even the President joined in by saying that Senate passage of the bill "proves that the Senate cannot be purchased by organized telegrams based on direct misrepresentation."<sup>11</sup> President Roosevelt made public a letter to a friend<sup>12</sup> in which he stated that he did not have an inclination to become a dictator, he did not have the qualifications, nor would his knowledge of dictators lead him to favor one for the United States. He reiterated his former statement that he would be willing to let Congress reorganize the administration except for the well-known fact that the Congress had tried unsuccessfully for forty years. He suggested further that some of the charges were hysterical: *e. g.*, that he was planning to destroy forestry, when everyone

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, March 29, 1938, 1:8. Immediately after passage, Senator Byrnes requested unanimous consent to substitute the bill for one of the particularistic House bills that had already passed, but Senator Clark objected. One commentator, Altman, *loc. cit.*, p. 1112, suggested that Byrnes committed a tactical blunder in not reporting his Senate bill as an amendment to a House bill in the beginning, so that when the Senate passed the bill it could forthwith demand a conference with the House, and thus obviate the long fight in the House. It would appear, however, that, in view of the subsequent temper revealed by the House, it might have resented a conference report on a bill which it had not formally considered.

<sup>9</sup>*New York Times*, March 28, 1938, 1:3.

<sup>10</sup>*Idem.*

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, March 31, 1938, 1:6. This unfortunate statement served only to incense the opposition Senators further.

<sup>12</sup>*New York Times*, March 31, 1938.

knew that he was the best friend that forestry had ever had in the United States.

In the House of Representatives, "turbulent"<sup>13</sup> sessions over the bill began on March 31 and continued until April 8, when the bill was finally recommitted. Most prominent in favor of the bill were Speaker Bankhead, Floor Leader Rayburn, and Representatives Cochran of Missouri and Warren of North Carolina, chairman and vice-chairman respectively of the reorganization committee. Leading the opposition were O'Connor of New York, Lamneck of Ohio, Pettengill of Indiana, and Bertrand Snell, Republican Leader. The falls throughout the period of the nine-day fight in the House nearly all went to the administration, and it appeared clear until the very last that the bill would be passed. However, as time went on, the fight became increasingly close. Many compromises had to be made excepting specific agencies from presidential control. On the day the bill was finally recommitted, with Farley, Jesse Jones, and Charles C. West cracking the whip to help the Congressional leaders, the sections dealing with the Comptroller General and the Civil Service were rewritten, and the restoration of the old practice of giving representatives control over first, second, and third class postmasters was promised as a bribe to Congressmen.<sup>14</sup> But all concessions were to no avail; the bill was recommitted on O'Connor's motion by a vote of 204 to 196.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile the opposition outside Congress had reached new heights. The hysteria of the time was quite clearly reflected in the newspapers. It was estimated by the telegraph

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, April 1, 1939, 1:8. The House was tardy in taking up the bill because the chief opponent of the bill, John J. O'Connor, was chairman of the Rules Committee, and since the House does most of its work by special order, the chairman would not let the committee report such an order, and the bill had to await its regular calendar turn.

<sup>14</sup>*New York Times*, April 9, 1938, 1:8. The restoration of the postmaster patronage discloses quite clearly the Farley touch. When this amendment came up, Congressman Ramspeck of Georgia shouted, "You can't buy my vote with this bill."

A compromise was made on April 3 giving Congress power to override reorganization orders by a majority vote and another excepting the Office of Education from change. *New York Times*, April 4, 1938, 1:8. This latter compromise was necessitated by Father Coughlin's charges. The Veterans Bureau was exempted on April 4. *New York Times*, April 5, 1938, 1:8.

<sup>15</sup>*New York Times*, April 9, 1938, 1:8.

companies that over 333,000 messages were sent to Congressmen within the two weeks preceding April 8—more messages than had ever been sent on any bill before.<sup>16</sup> Practically every important columnist, with the exception of Walter Lippman, Arthur Krock and Heywood Broun<sup>17</sup> opposed the bill with cries of dictatorship. The fight was led by Publisher Frank Gannett of Rochester with his "National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government," of court-proposal fame, and its \$300-a-week Executive Secretary, Dr. Edward Rumely.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the most damaging blows were dealt by Father Charles E. Coughlin of Detroit through his radio pleas for telegrams and his expressed fears that tampering with the Office of Education would endanger the independence of parochial schools.<sup>19</sup> Of the newspaper columnists, General Hugh Johnson, Mark Sullivan, David Lawrence, Paul Mallon, Boake Carter, and Dorothy Thompson were most vociferous in opposition.<sup>20</sup> One writer also gives much credit for the bill's defeat to the Hearst, Block, and Scripps-Howard newspaper chains.<sup>21</sup>

Many others besides newspapermen expressed opposition. Presidents of Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce voiced their objections to the "dictator" bill.<sup>22</sup> William Green

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, April 10, 1938, 1:2:2.

<sup>17</sup>Ickes, Harold L., "Mail-Order Government," *Colliers*, February 18, 1939, p. 14.

<sup>18</sup>146 *Nation* (April 2, 1938), p. 375.

<sup>19</sup>Archbishop Edward Mooney of Detroit publicly took issue with Coughlin on this point. *New York Times*, April 2, 1938, 3:5. Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago telegraphed President Roosevelt: "I cannot find that the welfare or freedom of the Catholic Church is in any way hindered by the pending reorganization bill." *New York Times*, April 8, 1938, 3:4. The only conclusion to be reached is that Coughlin's fears were based on wilful misrepresentation.

<sup>20</sup>Ickes, *loc. cit.* Said Secretary Ickes, "Of those who cooked this witch's mess of Ku Kluxism, it may be said that Frank Gannett, the rap-Roosevelt columnists and Father Coughlin are jointly and severally quite worthy of one another."

<sup>21</sup>146 *Nation* (April 16, 1938), p. 427.

<sup>22</sup>Charles T. Gwynne, Executive Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, *New York Times*, April 10, 1938, 2:3; M. D. Griffith, Executive-Secretary of the New York Board of Trade, *Ibid.*, April 8, 1938, 1:8; Walter Kidde, President of the New Jersey Chamber of Commerce, Percy C. Magnus, President of the New York Board of Trade, Donald A. Hobart, former National Commander of the National Veterans Association, *ibid.*, April 1, 1939, 2:4; The American Federation of Investors, *ibid.*, April 10, 1939, 2:4; and many others.

of the American Federation of Labor stated that the bill was "highly objectionable to Labor."<sup>23</sup> Ex-president Hoover denied that the proposal resembled the one he had made. He suggested that the plan was "an attack on semi-judicial bodies and on the comptroller. It would mean a total absorption of the power of the Civil Service Commission into the hands of the President."<sup>24</sup> James Truslow Adams wired Frank Gannett from his sickbed: "The . . . situation [is] practically as dangerous as that of the Supreme Court last year . . . This bill calls for . . . alterations of our form of government . . . [and] growth of one man power . . . I hope citizens will telegraph their Congressman."<sup>25</sup>

There are many interesting and amusing side-lights on the fight which might be mentioned, but space permits the listing of only a few. Congressman Warren accused Gannett's Dr. Rumely of directing propaganda against the bill and of signing telegrams with names from telephone directories and with names of fictitious or dead persons; these charges were branded by Gannett as "false and libelous."<sup>26</sup> Congressman Kennedy of New York City was so swamped with protests that he published in the *Times* a pledge to vote "No."<sup>27</sup> The Chairman of the Massachusetts Republican State Committee protested to the Boston postal inspector that postal cards were being forged and sent to Washington favoring the reorganization proposal.<sup>28</sup> Congressman Burce Barton of New York asked unanimous consent of the House to insert in the record 3,000 letters against the bill and 3 for it.<sup>29</sup> One of the most comical aspects of the whole show was the activity of the Paul Reveres, a group spawned by Gannett's organization<sup>30</sup> and headed by James F. O'Kelly, a New York salesman who said business was bad and he had nothing to sell.<sup>31</sup> Gannett had

<sup>23</sup>Altman, *loc. cit.*, p. 1111. That the bill was really objectionable to labor is altogether doubtful. This statement was obviously an expression of Green's general opposition to the President.

<sup>24</sup>*New York Times*, April 5, 1938, 4:5.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, March 25, 1938, 2:5.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, April 6, 1938, 15:4.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, April 7, 1938, 12:5.

<sup>28</sup>*Idem.*

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, April 5, 1938, 1:8. In a soberer vein Mr. Barton suggested postponing the bill until a calmer period.

<sup>30</sup>*Newsweek*, April 18, 1938, p. 13.

<sup>31</sup>*New York Times*, April 8, 1938, 3:6.

prophesied that 25,000 Reveres would descend on Washington, but *New York Times* and *Newsweek* correspondents could count only 142. These patriotic sandwichmen paraded up and down the Capitol wearing banners which protested against one-man rule; one reporter said they followed printed instructions issued by Gannett's "National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government."<sup>32</sup>

Such was the manner in which the administrative reorganization bill was defeated. Attention will now be directed toward an analysis of the reasons why the bill was defeated.

#### THE SIGNIFIANCE OF THE FIGHT AGAINST THE BILL

What was the significance of the character of the fight against the reorganization bill? Did its provisions really point toward dictatorship? Professor Altman of Williams suggests that Hitler's seizure of Austria, the Russian purges, and the President's summary removal of Chairman Morgan of the T. V. A., created a revulsion of feeling against dictatorship.<sup>33</sup> This is entirely too romantic a view. It is the writer's idea that such fears may have been the spring-board but not the sinews of the performance. The fight was too synthetic to ring true. The explanation lies rather in another direction. The following expression by a news commentator comes much closer to the truth:

Despite all the hullabaloo over the Reorganization Bill's merits and faults, most impartial students agreed that the measure's provisions weren't the main issue. Proof of that lies in the fact that a Democratic Congress just missed giving Herbert Hoover many similar powers in 1932 and did give Mr. Roosevelt such powers on a temporary basis early in 1933—only to have him neglect to use them.

The bill's real importance lay in the fact that it had become a Grade A political football—to be carried by those who generally favor Franklin Roosevelt and booted by those who dislike or fear him. In sum, it had become a symbol of Mr. Roosevelt's prestige and power.<sup>34</sup>

Most of the other careful contemporary analyses agree with this one.<sup>35</sup> All sorts of evidence can be marshalled to prove

<sup>32</sup>*Newsweek*, April 18, 1938, p. 13

<sup>33</sup>Altman, *loc. cit.*, p. 1110.

<sup>34</sup>*Newsweek*, April 11, 1938, p. 11.

<sup>35</sup>See 94 *New Republic* (April 13, 1938), pp. 289 and 291; *Time*, April 18, 1938, p. 16.

this thesis. Nearly all of the major columnists of the country are tolerant of the Administration's program or only mildly critical of it until they see they can make a killing blow against it. This is best illustrated by words taken from the columns of David Lawrence and Hugh Johnson when President Roosevelt first proposed reorganization and then again when the fight was hottest.<sup>36</sup> When the proposal was first made, Lawrence wrote:

Like a breath of fresh air in a musty room comes President Roosevelt's message . . . Its weakness is not that it concentrates power in the Chief Executive for, in administrative tasks, this is essential.

In the week before the bill was killed, he said:

The fight against the 'Reorganization' Bill has become a fight against possible Hitlerism in America.

In January, 1937, Hugh Johnson wrote:

If the job is to be done at all, it must be done immediately, under the present tremendous prestige of Franklin Roosevelt . . . It will be done only by a forthright delegation of plenary authority.

By April, 1938, he had changed his tune:

The proposed Reorganization Bill . . . is an insult to American intelligence . . . It is the greatest surrender of representative democratic government yet proposed.

Further proof that the fight was on the President and not on the bill is found in the voting of the Republicans throughout the fight. Every Republican Congressman went against the bill on every vote. After the defeat of the bill, Republican leaders in Congress were "reluctant to comment for publication" but stated that they foresaw a split in the Democratic Party.<sup>37</sup> In other words they felt that the Democrats had cut their own throats. Republican Chairman John D. M. Hamilton refused to "gloat" because it was not a "partisan victory,"<sup>38</sup> implying that all right-minded people, Democrats and Republicans alike, had co-operated to defeat the bill. Another clear proof that the fight had damaged the President's prestige was Speaker Bankhead's statement that he had "no disposition to analyze

<sup>36</sup>Quoted in *Newsweek*, April 11, 1938, p. 9.

<sup>37</sup>*New York Times*, April 10, 1938, 2:3; 146 *Nation* (April 2, 1938) p. 370.

<sup>38</sup>*New York Times*, April 10, 1938, 2:4.

the results of the reorganization vote."<sup>39</sup> All of this is convincing, and further proof is unnecessary. But the crown-proof of the point is that Wall Street on the day following the defeat of the bill was exceedingly bullish: all stocks gained from two to six points, and the stock exchange had its biggest share day since the preceeding October.<sup>40</sup> The developments acted as a tonic to the market, not because dictatorship was averted, but because the market thrives on setbacks to the New Deal Administration.

Secretary Ickes suggests that letters and telegrams are not new, but that "what is new is the discovery that has been made recently of the tremendous potentialities of the radio, combined with a concentrated newspaper attack, for devil-brewing a turbulent mob spirit."<sup>41</sup> Another writer suggested that "the Reorganization Bill was significant not so much for itself but as a portent of a mood in which the country's reactionaries are."<sup>42</sup> Another commented that "the almost fanatical fury of the attack on the measure left Roosevelt lieutenants stunned."<sup>43</sup> Congressman O'Connor in addressing the Congress early in April mentioned "bloodshed," "revolution," and "resort to arms" in the minds and hearts of the people if the bill should pass.<sup>44</sup> Such frenzied statements should give us pause. When frustrated minorities begin to use terms like these, it is high time for us to take stock of our democracy. When constructive legislation is opposed for reason of personal hatred and its defeat secured by resort to misrepresentation and propaganda under the guise of a highly emotional effort to save the republic, then we can no longer apply reason to the solution of our public problems, and our democracy has hit upon an evil day. It would appear clear that dictatorship is infinitely more likely to come from Congressman O'Connor's bloody and revolutionary friends than from those who are concerned with rendering government more efficient.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 2:3.

<sup>40</sup>*Dallas News*, April 9, 1938, 1:4:2; *New York Times*, April 10, 1938, 1:7.

<sup>41</sup>Ickes, *loc. cit.*

<sup>42</sup>94 *New Republic* (April 13, 1938), p. 291.

<sup>43</sup>*Newsweek*, April 11, 1938, p. 9.

<sup>44</sup>*New York Times*, April 2, 1938, 1:8.

## THE PATTERN OF MARRIAGE SELECTION IN PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION<sup>1</sup>

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Although the sociological literature on the processes of family life is extensive and rapidly growing, there has been relatively little research dealing with the introductory stage of family life, marriage. We will attempt to contribute some new factual materials and one new tentative generalization bearing upon the problem of marital selection. Some of the data will be in the nature of a description for a particular area of phases of marriage which have been established previously for other populations. Other materials are new.

The material in this article is a selection of certain items from a larger body of data on marriages in one American city; this study is itself part of a broader program of study on the general problem of assortative mating. The source of the data was the marriage license registers of Cambridge, Mass., for the years 1928 through part of 1935. In addition to the information from the records on age, civil status, color, birth-place, place of residence, and occupation, supplementary sources were used to obtain the occupations of the fathers, the occupations of brides in the previous year if they gave no occupation when applying for a license, and the rental value of the house in which each party resided.

Three topics will be discussed. The marrying population will be described with respect to age, social status, and civil status. The extent of marital selection for each of these characteristics and also for the distance between residences of brides and grooms will be shown. It will determine to what extent both the characteristics of people who marry and the degree of assortative mating varying from years of prosperity to years of depression.

1. The most general question regarding the effect of a depression upon marriages and the most marked effect of such conditions related to the number of marriages. The following

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<sup>1</sup>The collection and analysis of the materials on which this paper is based were aided by the Harvard University Committee on Social Research. This study is also supplementary to Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station Project 526. It was presented at the 1939 meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Society.

table (I) indicates that the progressive onset and persistence of the economic depression was accompanied by a drastic decline in the number of marriages. This cyclic correlation is substantiated by the fact that the business revival beginning in 1933 was followed by an increase in marriages.

TABLE I  
VARIATION IN MARRIAGES AND BUSINESS CONDITIONS

| Year | Number of Marriages | Relative Number | Index of Employment |
|------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1928 | 1474                | 100             | 100                 |
| 1929 | 1504                | 102             | 102                 |
| 1930 | 1300                | 88              | 89                  |
| 1931 | 1254                | 85              | 80                  |
| 1932 | 1229                | 83              | 64                  |
| 1933 | 1106                | 75              | 74                  |
| 1934 | 1296                | 88              | 78                  |

It is clear that marriages in this city were definitely sensitive to fluctuations in economic opportunities and that the magnitudes of the fluctuations were quite similar in the two variables. The lag of marriages behind employment was less than a year.

2. The accompanying table (II) demonstrates that the inhibiting effect of the depression upon marriages is not evenly distributed among the various social strata.<sup>2</sup> There is also revealed a definite selection in marriage for social status. These points will be discussed in order.

2a. In the depression years, illustrated by 1933, a larger proportion of the persons who married came from the upper

<sup>2</sup>To obtain a measure of social status the occupations of the parties to these marriages, and the occupations of their fathers, were classified in 12 categories, which were then combined into 5 social status groups.

| Occupation                                                      | Social Status                           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1. Unskilled                                                    | 1. Unskilled                            |
| 2. Semi-skilled manual                                          | 2. Semi-skilled                         |
| 3. Semi-skilled white collar<br>(including retail sales clerks) |                                         |
| 4. Skilled manual                                               | 3. Skilled                              |
| 5. Skilled white collar<br>(including clerical)                 |                                         |
| 6. Agents                                                       | 4. Small business and semi-professional |
| 7. Small business                                               |                                         |
| 8. Semi-professional                                            |                                         |
| 9. Minor public officials                                       |                                         |
| 10. Major public officials                                      | 5. Large business and professional      |
| 11. Business executives                                         |                                         |
| 12. Professionals                                               |                                         |

social levels; the lower classes were restrained from undertaking matrimony. Moreover, in several instances the absolute number of persons from the higher groups actually increased in 1933 as compared with 1928.

Since the absence of data classifying the marriageable population by social status precludes the calculation of true marriage rates, an indirect method was used which should give substantially the same results when comparing the changes from one year to another. The relative changes in actual number of marriages in different social strata, were compared using 1928 as the base year. The data for 1934 are added to show the effect of economic recovery.

This last calculation is an arithmetic conversion of the preceding one, but it makes the previous conclusion more evident. The number of marriages coming from the lower classes, whether we consider grooms or brides, decreased more sharply during the depression years than did the number from the upper classes—in fact the latter tended to increase.

The tables covering this point classify the parties according to their own status and also according to the status of their fathers. The foregoing conclusions, that economic adversity is more inhibiting to lower-class than to upper-class marriages, is substantiated by both these social status classifications. These persons rank considerably higher on the social scale according to their own occupation than they do when judged by parental occupation, but the general picture so far as our problem is concerned is essentially the same.

2b. The preceding data led to the conclusion that marriages of different years drew upon the several social classes in varying degrees. But in any given year marriages are definitely selective for social rank. Persons from the same social levels tend to select each other as mates.

TABLE II  
SOCIAL STATUS OF GROOMS AND BRIDES

| Status           | Percentage Distribution |      |        |      |
|------------------|-------------------------|------|--------|------|
|                  | Grooms                  |      | Brides |      |
|                  | 1928                    | 1933 | 1928   | 1933 |
| 1—Unskilled      | 5.7                     | 4.4  | 9      | ---  |
| 2—Semi-skilled   | 48.3                    | 50.5 | 78.6   | 68.4 |
| 3—Skilled        | 25.8                    | 18.6 | 13.5   | 18.0 |
| 4—Small business | 11.8                    | 13.9 | 1.6    | 8.0  |
| 5—Professional   | 8.4                     | 12.6 | 5.4    | 5.6  |

| Status           | Relative Changes (1928=100) |      |        |      |
|------------------|-----------------------------|------|--------|------|
|                  | Grooms                      |      | Brides |      |
|                  | 1933                        | 1934 | 1933   | 1934 |
| 1—Unskilled      | 57                          | 58   | --     | --   |
| 2—Semi-skilled   | 77                          | 87   | 69     | 77   |
| 3—Skilled        | 59                          | 64   | 106    | 142  |
| 4—Small business | 82                          | 79   | 400    | 438  |
| 5—Professional   | 111                         | 132  | 82     | 94   |

| Status           | Parental Social Status of Grooms and Brides<br>Percentage Distribution |      |                 |      |
|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-----------------|------|
|                  | Grooms' Fathers                                                        |      | Brides' Fathers |      |
|                  | 1928                                                                   | 1933 | 1928            | 1933 |
| 1—Unskilled      | 31.8                                                                   | 10.4 | 29.4            | 14.2 |
| 2—Semi-skilled   | 29.9                                                                   | 35.8 | 37.7            | 36.1 |
| 3—Skilled        | 26.2                                                                   | 32.1 | 21.0            | 28.1 |
| 4—Small business | 7.6                                                                    | 18.9 | 7.8             | 14.4 |
| 5—Professional   | 4.5                                                                    | 2.8  | 4.1             | 7.2  |

| Status           | Relative Changes (1928=100) |      |                 |      |
|------------------|-----------------------------|------|-----------------|------|
|                  | Grooms' Fathers             |      | Brides' Fathers |      |
|                  | 1933                        | 1934 | 1933            | 1934 |
| 1—Unskilled      | 29                          | 41   | 27              | 50   |
| 2—Semi-skilled   | 78                          | 117  | 64              | 95   |
| 3—Skilled        | 98                          | 115  | 77              | 21   |
| 4—Small business | 155                         | 181  | 118             | 161  |
| 5—Professional   | 126                         | 221  | 144             | 218  |

This question was approached through three separate measures of social status. The first was the rental value of the house in which each person lived in the year prior to marriage. (The conclusions from these data are given without the figures.) Second, was the occupational position of grooms and brides, and finally the occupations of their fathers. Table III summarizes the results using these last two criteria.

TABLE III  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL STATUS OF BRIDES FOR  
GROOMS OF EACH SOCIAL STATUS

| Status of Bride  | Status of Groom |      |      |      |      |
|------------------|-----------------|------|------|------|------|
|                  | 1               | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    |
| 1—Unskilled      | 1.7             | 1.2  | .4   | ---  | --   |
| 2—Semi-skilled   | 93.3            | 85.2 | 80.9 | 69.8 | 36.0 |
| 3—Skilled        | 3.3             | 10.2 | 14.3 | 21.0 | 26.7 |
| 4—Small business | --              | 1.6  | 1.2  | 2.5  | 1.3  |
| 5—Professional   | 1.7             | 1.8  | 3.2  | 6.7  | 36.0 |

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL STATUS OF BRIDES  
FOR FATHERS OF GROOMS OF EACH SOCIAL STATUS

| <i>Brides' fathers' status</i> | <i>Groom's fathers' status</i> |      |      |      |      |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
|                                | 1                              | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    |
| 1—Unskilled                    | 44.9                           | 25.4 | 24.8 | 11.4 | 4.8  |
| 2—Semi-skilled                 | 33.3                           | 45.6 | 37.3 | 25.7 | 38.1 |
| 3—Skilled                      | 14.3                           | 20.3 | 26.4 | 31.5 | 23.8 |
| 4—Small business               | 6.8                            | 6.5  | 7.4  | 14.3 | 14.3 |
| 5—Professional                 | .7                             | 2.2  | 4.1  | 17.1 | 19.0 |

The data based on the value of domicile may be summarized by saying that the critical contingency test ratios for like-combinations far exceeded chance in every year. In 1928, 57 per cent of the couples were from homes of similar level. Both the other two measures of status lead to the same conclusion. The degree of homogamy was less using the occupations of the marrying parties themselves than when classifying them according to value of home, and still less when using fathers' occupations. Forty-nine per cent of the couples were from the same occupational or social level as judged by their own employment and 37 per cent when rated by the position of their fathers. But similar combinations occurred in each case in frequencies exceeding chance. Moreover, when the specific occupational category rather than the social status was used it was evident that men of any given occupational type choose wives more often from the same particular type of occupation than from any other single occupational group.

Although we are stressing the amount of similarity revealed in these marriages, because of the nature of the problem and because the statistical test indicated similarity in excess of chance, some readers may wish to emphasize the large amount of crossing of class lines in marriage. An examination of the tables indicates that deviation from endogamy is not entirely a matter of chance. There is a definite tendency for upper-class men to choose wives of lower status more often than lower-class men marry above themselves; this is known as hypergamy. In other words upper-class men are more diversified in their choice of wives. There was no indication in any of these tables that marriages were more similar for social class in depression than in prosperity years.

3. It is important both sociologically and statistically to differentiate individuals who marry according to their previous marital experience—civil status. This is an extremely stable

characteristic of any population; the porportion of remarriages varies only slightly from year to year. It might be expected, however, that an unusually severe depression would exercise a marked influence upon the relative tendency of bachelors and widowers, for instance, to enter marriage. But the data indicates that the depression effect was negligible. Therefore we will not compare the two years but only illustrate the typical distribution of individuals according to civil status for the year 1928. (Table IV)

TABLE IV  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CIVIL STATUS COMBINATION

| <i>Combination</i>  | <i>Per cent</i> |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| Bachelors—Spinsters | 86.1            |
| Bachelors—Widows    | 1.8             |
| Bachelors—Divorcees | 2.6             |
| Widowers—Spinsters  | 3.4             |
| Widowers—Widows     | 1.4             |
| Widowers—Divorcees  | .7              |
| Divorced—Spinsters  | 2.4             |
| Divorced—Widows     | .6              |
| Divorced—Divorcees  | .9              |

We find that 86 per cent of all marriages are between bachelors and spinsters, about four per cent involve remarriage for both parties (whether the previous marriage ended by divorce or death), and approximately ten per cent are remarriages of one party with first marriages for the other. In this last case there is a slight excess number of instances where the man was previously married over those where the woman was remarrying.

4. Marriage partners are rarely chosen from distant places. The combinations of place of residence were classified into five groups, with due regard to the peculiarities of the area studied. In 40.3 per cent of the cases both parties lived in the city of Cambridge. In 24.1 per cent the grooms resided in Cambridge while the brides were domiciled elsewhere in greater Boston, and in 21.8 per cent the reverse situation occurred; thus a grand total of 86.2 per cent were marriages in which both parties lived in greater Boston including Cambridge. In 6.5 per cent of the marriages the groom lived in Cambridge and the bride came from outside greater Boston; in 7.3 per cent the opposite was the case. These figures in-

dicating a close balancing of importing and exporting of brides and grooms. This pattern of residence combination did not change significantly during the depression.

Not only are most marriages between persons who live in the same city or community; within the same community there is a pronounced effect of propinquity. Previous articles by Bossard, Harris, Davie, and the present author in collaboration with McKain, have demonstrated this fact, which is sufficiently remarkable in the light of the heterogeneity and mobility of urban populations. In the present study, taking only those marriages where both parties lived in Cambridge, we found the following distribution of distances in blocks between the domiciles of grooms and brides (Table V). In the majority of cases the two parties lived within one mile of each other, and in a surprising proportion of the cases within one block.

TABLE V

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DISTANCE BETWEEN RESIDENCES

| <i>Blocks</i> | <i>Per cent</i> |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 0             | 30.1            |
| 1-8           | 36.8            |
| 9-16          | 15.7            |
| 17-25         | 4.9             |
| 26+           | 13.5            |

5. Aside from its significance as a particular folkway of a society or group, the age at marriage is important due to its implications for later adjustment in marriage, its rôle as a factor in reproduction rates, and its value as an index of the standard of living. Furthermore, the relative ages of husbands and wives affect the processes of marital interaction in numerous ways.

The following paragraphs will describe the distributions for age at marriage for each sex, civil status and social class and also the differences in age between brides and grooms in each of these sub-populations. The influences of the depression will also be indicated.

5a. Table VI shows that each of the civil status-sex groups (e. g., bachelors marrying spinsters or widowers marrying widows) has a distinctive distribution of ages at marriage as well as a characteristic average age and inter-quartile range or dispersion. Thus among the bachelors who marry spinsters

38 per cent marry before the age of 25 and only one per cent after the age of 45; on the other hand, of the widowers who marry widows less than three percent marry younger than 25 and nearly half marry after the age of 45. To take another instance, the mean age of widows who marry bachelors is 33 years and that of widows marrying widowers is 41 years. Moreover, the dispersion of ages varies in characteristic fashion; the interquartile range for bachelors marrying spinsters is six years and that of bachelors marrying widows is 12 years. In general, the higher the average age of any group

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AGE AT MARRIAGE BY  
SEX AND CIVIL STATUS: 1928-34

| Age            | Grooms |         |       |       | Brides |         |       |       |
|----------------|--------|---------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|-------|
|                | BS*    | W,D;W,D | B;W,D | W,D,S | S;B    | W,D;W,D | W,D;B | S;W,D |
| — 20           | 2.3    | .3      | .5    | --    | 17.4   | 1.8     | 1.8   | 5.8   |
| 20 —           | 35.9   | 2.3     | 13.0  | 2.5   | 44.9   | 5.1     | 13.8  | 19.1  |
| 25 —           | 38.3   | 5.1     | 27.0  | 14.3  | 26.6   | 9.0     | 24.9  | 26.7  |
| 30 —           | 14.7   | 11.3    | 21.2  | 20.6  | 7.7    | 12.7    | 24.5  | 17.2  |
| 35 —           | 5.8    | 15.8    | 16.8  | 17.9  | 2.1    | 21.3    | 16.8  | 12.9  |
| 40 —           | 1.8    | 16.2    | 9.7   | 15.1  | .8     | 18.6    | 10.7  | 6.4   |
| 45 —           | .7     | 14.4    | 5.9   | 8.9   | .3     | 13.6    | 5.4   | 6.6   |
| 50 —           | .4     | 14.4    | 4.8   | 8.5   | .1     | 9.3     | 1.5   | 2.7   |
| 55 —           | .1     | 8.2     | .8    | 6.0   | .1     | 6.2     | .3    | 1.4   |
| 60 —           | --     | 5.9     | --    | 3.3   | --     | 3.4     | --    | .6    |
| 65 —           | --     | 4.2     | .3    | 1.7   | --     | --      | .3    | .6    |
| 70 —           | --     | 1.1     | --    | .6    | --     | --      | --    | --    |
| 75 —           | --     | .8      | --    | .4    | --     | --      | --    | --    |
| 80-84          | --     | --      | --    | .2    | --     | --      | --    | --    |
| Mean           | 27.4   | 45.6    | 33.7  | 40.6  | 24.4   | 40.8    | 32.9  | 31.9  |
| Median         | 26.0   | 44.7    | 32.1  | 38.4  | 23.3   | 40.2    | 31.4  | 30.0  |
| Q <sup>1</sup> | 23.5   | 36.3    | 26.9  | 31.9  | 20.8   | 33.8    | 26.9  | 25.0  |
| Q <sup>3</sup> | 29.6   | 53.3    | 39.0  | 47.4  | 26.5   | 47.5    | 37.8  | 37.0  |

\*BS refers to bachelors marrying spinsters, W,D;W,D to widowers or divorced men marrying widows or divorcees, etc.

the greater is the dispersion of ages within that group.<sup>3</sup>

The relationship between the paired distributions of any related two sex and civil status groups is also distinctive; for example, the degree of correspondence of the distributions of bachelors marrying spinsters with that of spinsters marrying bachelors is different from the degree of correspondence of the

<sup>3</sup>This statement in terms of absolute variability is important regardless of whatever different conclusions might be drawn for other purposes by calculating the relative variability.

distribution of widowers marrying widows with that of widows marrying widowers. Persons marrying for the first time are younger than those remarrying; this is the case irrespective of whether their partners are single or previously married. Thus bachelors who marry widows as well as those who choose spinsters are younger than widowers.

This distinctiveness of the age distributions of the several groups by sex and civil status can be shown in yet another way. Persons of either sex marrying persons who have not been married previously are younger than those who marry widowed individuals. Specifically, spinsters who marry bachelors are younger than spinsters mated to widowers, or widowers marrying widows have a higher average age than widowers marrying spinsters.

5b. It is well established that age distributions for any stated sub-population, such as these sex and civil status categories, are extremely stable in time. In fact we found very little effect of the depression. The mean ages of persons marrying for the first time increased slightly and those for persons remarrying decreased slightly; but the magnitude of the changes was less than one year despite the drop of 25 per cent in number of marriages and the considerable shift in social class composition of the group who married. The full distributions are not given for lack of space, but this conclusion can be appreciated by referring to the table (VII) of mean ages by social class where 1933 is compared with 1928.

5c. Social class is indubitably one of the principal coordinates of any social phenomenon, and in the particular field of which this study is a part it is well known that the upper classes marry later. The accompanying table (VIII) demonstrates this. The distributions are certainly not clearly distinct from class to class. Nevertheless the lower classes have a larger percentage of marriages at lower ages and a smaller, percentage at higher ages. The medians show somewhat more regularity than the means. There appears to be some tendency for those classes in a position to promote themselves socially to postpone marriage later than members of classes with assured positions; for example, the stratum next to the top marries later than the uppermost group. The dispersion of ages does not differ greatly from class to class. The differences between classes are much smaller than one might expect and distinctly less marked than in most European

countries. There was no uniform pattern of change in mean age during the depression, although there were more increases than decreases from 1928 to 1933.

6. We may now turn to the question of the pattern of selection for age—are grooms and brides similar in age? For convenience we do not use the standard correlation tables here but rather an alternative measure which can serve as well. We refer to the age-difference distribution (in which a negative difference indicates the bride is older).

TABLE VII  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AGES AT MARRIAGE BY SEX AND  
SOCIAL STATUS (OF GROOM): 1928-34

| Ages           | Social Status* |      |      |      |      |        |      |      |      |      |
|----------------|----------------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|------|------|------|
|                | Grooms         |      |      |      |      | Brides |      |      |      |      |
|                | 1              | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | 1      | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    |
| —20            | 4.4            | 2.5  | 1.6  | .6   | .1   | 25.0   | 18.7 | 13.8 | 9.2  | 4.4  |
| 20—            | 29.9           | 38.2 | 28.8 | 16.4 | 17.1 | 31.8   | 42.8 | 39.2 | 32.9 | 38.0 |
| 25—            | 30.5           | 33.8 | 34.8 | 36.0 | 43.6 | 23.8   | 23.2 | 27.6 | 31.3 | 35.3 |
| 30—            | 16.5           | 12.9 | 16.7 | 22.3 | 17.8 | 7.6    | 7.8  | 9.2  | 14.0 | 14.0 |
| 35—            | 9.2            | 6.1  | 7.8  | 10.6 | 9.7  | 3.8    | 3.5  | 4.5  | 5.2  | 4.3  |
| 40—            | 4.1            | 2.7  | 4.1  | 5.3  | 4.2  | 3.5    | 1.8  | 2.6  | 3.3  | 1.8  |
| 45—            | 2.7            | 1.6  | 2.4  | 2.9  | 2.3  | 2.1    | 1.1  | 1.8  | 2.1  | 1.6  |
| 50—            | 1.0            | 1.1  | 1.9  | 2.8  | 2.6  | 1.5    | .6   | .9   | .5   | .2   |
| 55—            | .7             | .7   | 1.1  | 1.5  | 1.3  | .9     | .4   | .2   | 2.1  | .2   |
| 60—            | 1.0            | .3   | .5   | .9   | .7   | --     | .1   | .2   | .3   | .2   |
| 65+            | --             | .1   | .3   | .7   | .6   | --     | --   | --   | --   | --   |
| Mean           | 29.3           | 28.0 | 29.7 | 31.9 | 31.1 | 25.9   | 25.1 | 26.2 | 27.7 | 27.1 |
| Median         | 27.2           | 26.1 | 27.5 | 29.1 | 28.8 | 23.3   | 23.6 | 24.2 | 26.2 | 25.9 |
| Q <sup>1</sup> | 24.0           | 23.5 | 24.6 | 25.0 | 25.1 | 20.0   | 20.6 | 21.5 | 23.0 | 23.3 |
| Q <sup>3</sup> | 32.3           | 30.1 | 32.1 | 35.0 | 33.5 | 28.5   | 27.5 | 28.3 | 30.3 | 29.5 |

TABLE VIII  
MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE

| Social Status<br>of Grooms* | Grooms |      | Brides |      |
|-----------------------------|--------|------|--------|------|
|                             | 1928   | 1933 | 1928   | 1933 |
| 1                           | 28.3   | 28.7 | 24.6   | 26.4 |
| 2                           | 27.4   | 27.1 | 24.3   | 24.4 |
| 3                           | 28.8   | 29.3 | 25.4   | 25.3 |
| 4                           | 31.7   | 31.4 | 26.8   | 27.4 |
| 5                           | 30.7   | 30.5 | 26.1   | 26.5 |

\*Social Status: 1—Unskilled  
2—Semi-skilled  
3—Skilled  
4—Small business and semi-professional  
5—Large business and professional.

6a. It was demonstrated that each civil status combination had a characteristic pair of age distributions and that the mean ages were distinctive. It follows that each civil status combination has a characteristic mean age-difference (Table IX).

TABLE IX

## MEAN AGE-DIFFERENCE BY CIVIL STATUS COMBINATION

|        |                | Grooms         |            |
|--------|----------------|----------------|------------|
|        |                | First Marriage | Remarriage |
| Brides | First Marriage | 3.0            | 8.7        |
|        | Remarriage     | 0.8            | 4.8        |

The difference is greatest where a remarrying man chooses an unmarried woman, next largest where both parties are remarrying, a lesser difference where bachelors marry spinsters, and least in marriages of bachelors with widows. These results are quite similar to those of any modern population, with the exception that in some European countries in the widow-bachelor combination the wives are older than the husbands.

6b. Not only does mean age increase with social status; the mean differences of grooms and brides increase also as a result of the fact that the increase of mean age with social status is greater for men than women. For the years 1928-34 taken together the respective differences (proceeding up the social scale) were 3.4, 2.9, 3.5, 4.2, 4.0.

6c. After discussing the average differences in age we turn to the distribution of age-differences. Again we can conclude that each civil status combination has a characteristic distribution. For the year 1928 the four distributions substantiate this point (Table X). (The differences are classified in two different manners, one making a break at zero age-difference and the other with zero as the mid-point of a class interval including the "normal" marriages.)

6d. We now turn to what has been alluded to in the introduction as the one original generalization in this paper. (For this particular point we are using the data for the first marriages only in order to obtain a large enough grouping to be statistically stable. The other distributions, while some-

**TABLE X**  
**PERCENTAGE AGE-DIFFERENCE DISTRIBUTIONS BY CIVIL STATUS**  
**COMBINATION**

| <i>Difference</i>                                          | <i>BxS</i> | <i>BxW,D</i> | <i>W,DxS</i> | <i>W,DxW,D</i> |
|------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| -4+                                                        | 3.3        | 14.3         | 3.6          | 6.0            |
| -1 to -3                                                   | 11.6       | 20.6         | 2.4          | 5.9            |
| 0                                                          | 10.0       | 12.7         | 4.9          | 7.8            |
| 1 to 3                                                     | 33.3       | 19.0         | 20.8         | 11.8           |
| 4 to 6                                                     | 23.5       | 15.9         | 14.6         | 19.6           |
| 7 to 9                                                     | 10.9       | 6.4          | 14.7         | 11.8           |
| 10+                                                        | 7.4        | 11.2         | 38.9         | 37.4           |
| Or, with an alternative classification of the differences: |            |              |              |                |
| -3+                                                        | 5.5        | 20.6         | 3.7          | 7.9            |
| -2 to 2                                                    | 42.5       | 36.5         | 19.5         | 17.6           |
| 3 to 7                                                     | 38.6       | 28.6         | 28.0         | 29.4           |
| 8+                                                         | 13.4       | 14.3         | 48.8         | 45.1           |

what erratic, nevertheless seem to be in accord with the conclusion.)

Our generalization, then, is that in depression years persons who marry are more similar in age than couples marrying in years of prosperity. This is shown in table XI by comparing the years 1928 and 1933. Data not included here indicate that the distributions for 1934 and 1935 tend to return to the form of that for 1928 or 1929.

**TABLE XI**  
**AGE-DIFFERENCE DISTRIBUTIONS IN PROSPERITY AND**  
**DEPRESSION**

| <i>Difference</i> | <i>1928</i> | <i>1933</i> | <i>Difference</i> | <i>1928</i> | <i>1933</i> |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|
| -4+               | 3.3         | 2.7         | -3+               | 5.5         | 4.7         |
| -1 to -3          | 11.6        | 13.6        | -2 to 2           | 42.5        | 49.7        |
| 0                 | 10.0        | 11.9        | 3 to 7            | 38.6        | 35.1        |
| 1 to 3            | 33.3        | 36.5        | 8+                | 13.4        | 10.5        |
| 4 to 6            | 23.5        | 21.6        |                   |             |             |
| 7 to 9            | 10.9        | 8.7         |                   |             |             |
| 10+               | 7.4         | 5.0         |                   |             |             |

Using either classification of the age-differences there is a clear and consistent tendency for the marriages with large age-differences, whether it be husband or wife who is the older, to be proportionately less numerous in 1933 than in 1928; conversely, marriages manifesting greater similarity in age are proportionately more numerous in 1933. The shifts between

the two years are not large, but for material of such stability as this the changes are marked.

This prosperity-depression contrast can be more graphically shown by computing the relative change in absolute number of marriages in each age-difference group, using 1928 as the base year or 100 (Table XII).

**TABLE XII**  
**RELATIVE CHANGES IN FREQUENCIES IN AGE-DIFFERENCE GROUPS**

| <i>Difference</i> |    | <i>Difference</i> |    |
|-------------------|----|-------------------|----|
| -4+               | 60 | -3+               | 64 |
| -1 to -3          | 88 | -2 to 2           | 88 |
| 0                 | 90 | 3 to 7            | 70 |
| 1 to 3            | 83 | 8+                | 59 |
| 4 to 6            | 70 |                   |    |
| 7 to 9            | 61 |                   |    |

This procedure permits the statement that marriages with smaller age-differences suffer less decline in number from 1928 to 1933 than those in which the two parties are unequal in age. In other words, the sharp decline in number of marriages between the two years, which was shown earlier in the paper, came disproportionately from marriages with large differences in age.

Table XIII demonstrates that the several social strata differ in respect to these age-difference distributions as they do for age of each party taken alone. This is an arithmetic truism, but it means specifically that marriages with large age differences, especially where the husband is older, are considerably more common in the upper classes. Tables not included show that in each social class the shift from 1929 to 1933 is similar to that found for the whole group of marriages; namely, marriages with small age-differences are relatively more common in each class in the depression period. This reinforces the general validity of the conclusion we are seeking to substantiate.

Some readers might be inclined to assert that the conclusion that marriages of depression periods are more homogeneous for age than those of prosperity years is spurious because we have not eliminated various concealed factors. We cannot

TABLE XIII  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AGE-DIFFERENCES BY SOCIAL  
STATUS

| Difference | Social Class (Husbands' Occupations) |      |      |      |      |
|------------|--------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
|            | 1                                    | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    |
| —4         | 2.5                                  | 4.8  | 3.1  | 3.7  | 3.4  |
| —1 to —3   | 12.7                                 | 10.8 | 13.4 | 8.0  | 9.5  |
| 0          | 5.1                                  | 9.4  | 11.5 | 8.6  | 9.5  |
| 1 to 3     | 31.6                                 | 34.5 | 26.3 | 25.2 | 31.0 |
| 4 to 6     | 29.1                                 | 22.4 | 23.8 | 22.7 | 18.1 |
| 7          | 19.0                                 | 18.1 | 21.9 | 31.8 | 28.5 |

eliminate all such sources of error, but in the following paragraphs we shall attempt to do so in considerable degree.

It can be demonstrated readily by consulting any correlation table of ages at marriage that in marriages made by older men the age differences are greater on the average than in marriages involving young men. This is also clear from the next table in this article. It would follow that if in one year the mean age at marriage of men was less than in another year the age-difference distribution would tend to become more compact, the large differences would become fewer. But in these data the mean ages tended to increase, though only slightly, from 1928 to 1933, which should scatter the age-differences rather than contract them.

The table below (XIV) shows that even when we subclassify marriages for separate ages of men the 1933 marriages in each case were more homogeneous than those of 1928. Therefore this age factor is not responsible for the results.

TABLE XIV  
PERCENTAGE AGE-DIFFERENCE DISTRIBUTIONS BY AGE OF  
GROOM

| Difference | Age of Groom |      |         |      |         |      |
|------------|--------------|------|---------|------|---------|------|
|            | — 25         |      | 25 — 29 |      | 30 — 34 |      |
|            | 1928         | 1933 | 1928    | 1933 | 1928    | 1933 |
| —3+        | 8.0          | 8.3  | 5.5     | 5.6  | 6.8     | 4.2  |
| —2 to 2    | 58.2         | 64.0 | 40.7    | 44.8 | 23.9    | 30.3 |
| 3 to 7     | 33.2         | 27.5 | 44.5    | 43.9 | 40.0    | 38.2 |
| 8+         | 4            | 3    | 9.2     | 5.6  | 29.4    | 27.3 |

Different civil status combinations have different distributions of age-differences, but this does not affect the conclusion, for we have divided the data by civil status, and we also indicated that the point could be made for each of these combinations separately.

The change in the social class composition of the marrying population will affect the distribution here discussed. The upper classes have larger age-differences and such classes were proportionately more numerous in 1933. Therefore, the age-difference should have been greater in 1933 (or large age-differences should have been more frequent) than in 1928, whereas actually the age-difference dispersion was less in the latter year. Moreover, this same tendency manifested itself in the marriages of each social class.

In conclusion we would stress the particular item in this article which we believe to be novel; namely, that marriages contracted during a period of economic depression are more similar for the attribute of age than those formed in prosperous times. It is hoped that other students will attempt to verify this conclusion. In a paper previously published with McKain, using data for three other cities, we found a similar tendency. But these data were less numerous and it was impossible to subclassify them in any way.

Tentatively, we suggest two possible explanations of this generalization. It is conceivable that the conditions associated with a depression have what we may call a "sobering" effect upon young persons leading them to choose mates more wisely, or with different criteria of selection. We believe that more reflective choices are accompanied by smaller age-differences. Also, it is probable that the limitations of diminished incomes affect the social contacts of youth; associations would probably be narrowed to more similar social groups and to persons with less diversity of ages than those available in prosperous times. A test for these hypotheses could be obtained if we could follow through engagements made in 1928 to see which ones were broken because of the depression and then compare the characteristics of grooms and brides in these two groups of betrothals.

## THE RADIO AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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The development of radio broadcasting, more than any other single scientific achievement in the history of civilization has had a sudden, dynamic effect upon the relations between nations. This development has come so quickly, in fact, that there has hardly been time to appraise it. The two comparable examples in the evolution of methods of human communication are the use of printing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the growth of mass printing in the nineteenth century. Both of these developments took more than a half-century. Radio broadcasting has become full grown in slightly more than a decade. Both the invention of printing and the evolution of mass printing were followed by social and political changes of a revolutionary nature. It seems virtually certain that the radio will be no less effective as an instrument of revolutionary changes, though the extent of all the changes is by no means clear as yet.

While the influence of radio broadcasting is equally important from the national or internal viewpoint, there are certain peculiar qualities in radio which make its effects necessarily international. First, there is the obvious fact that radio is no respecter of national boundaries. In border districts and in geographically small continental states there can be no such thing as a broadcast purely for home consumption. Secondly, since two stations cannot send waves into the ether on the same frequency without interfering with each other, there must be some international as well as national control. And in the third place, because of certain inherent qualities, the radio has inevitably become an instrument for the spread of both international good will and international ill will.

What, then, are the ascertainable effects of radio broadcasting on international relations? The question is more easily put than answered. One thing is certain: Whatever the eventual effects of the radio on international relations may be, for the present it is the chief medium of the international "war of words." The purpose of this article, however, is to examine not only that feature of broadcasting activity, but other influences as well which may in the long run be more significant.

Radio broadcasting has stimulated remarkably mass interest in world affairs. There can be no doubt of this. Even the casual observer is convinced of it from his own observation, and the broadcasting centers have abundant proof of it. In part this increased interest has been intentional on the part of sponsors with political motives, and in part it has been incidental to the technical superiority of radio over other means of communication. In the field of news broadcasts, which is the front line of the so-called international "battle in the ether," radio has certain advantages over the newspaper. In addition to the ability of radio waves to cross otherwise impassable frontier barriers, broadcasting has the advantage of time. It has also the advantage of the personal intimacy of the human voice as opposed to the formality of the printed page. Studies in the field indicate rather clearly that the majority of people prefer to hear political news rather than to read it. "It takes less effort."<sup>1</sup> And in emergency news, especially during crises, the radio has the tremendous advantage of bringing to the listeners the voices of the chief actors and first hand descriptions of the scene from the centers of activity.

The radio tends to create tenseness through its dramatization of events. There are of course newspapers in nearly all countries which resort to streaming headlines and other stratagems for dramatizing news. But the news broadcasters have made the art of dramatization peculiarly their own. In the totalitarian states, where radio broadcasting facilities are always controlled by the government, if not owned and operated by it, dramatization is increased or decreased to suit the purposes of the moment. It is significant that neither Hitler, nor Mussolini, nor Stalin ever seems to broadcast in a "fireside-chat" manner. Invariably they broadcast when speaking before large and receptive audiences whose acclamations are likewise carried to the listeners, and whose cheers incite the speaker to further histrionics. In the United States the broadcasting companies know only too well the public love for the spectacular. A probable war at any moment has too often been the keynote for news broadcasts during periods of international strain, though recently American broadcasters have shown a

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<sup>1</sup>Hadley Cantril and Gordon W. Allport, *The Psychology of Radio*, (New York, 1935), pp. 17-18.

marked improvement in their solicitude for facts and in their feeling of responsibility for their broadcasts.

One frequently sees statements to the effect that the radio is accelerating diplomatic action to the point where that action is now in tune with the modern "speed age." To quote an example: "Radio, which speeds everything with which it comes in contact . . . now speeds diplomatic action . . . No time is lost in writing official notes. Facts are read to the people almost as fast as signed; the Munich agreement was on the air in seventeen minutes!"<sup>2</sup> It is indeed true that facts, once signed and released for general knowledge, are almost instantaneously given to the public, but there is little evidence to warrant the conclusion that diplomatic action has achieved any noticeably greater velocity. Aircrafts also carry statesmen to conferences much faster than trains or boats carry them, but the conferences last just as long once the passengers have arrived.

Of greater interest and significance is the question of what effect the radio may be having in making for more open diplomacy. During the latter part of the World War and in the years immediately following the Paris Peace Conference, the movement toward "open" or "democratic" diplomacy reached its height. One of the main aims of the sponsors of the movement was to create a wider interest in international affairs. An increased interest would create a greater demand for information and diplomatic actions would thereby be forced more into the open. The radio has undoubtedly been partly responsible for augmenting public concern in international proceedings, but diplomacy has, if anything, tended to become more secret. This has been especially true since the diplomats abandoned the spotlight at Geneva. But it is amazing how much information of a sort the radio broadcasters can find to present during moments of almost complete official secrecy. Between September 10 and September 30, 1938, the Columbia broadcasting system alone used four hundred and fifty thousand words in its coverage of the crisis—enough words for four full novels. At supposedly extremely critical moments almost a minute by minute account was broadcast to all parts of the United States from London, Paris, Berlin,

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<sup>2</sup>Orrin E. Dunlap, Jr. in the *New York Times*, April 9, 1939, X, p. 12, col. 1.

Prague, Rome, Berchtesgaden, Godesburg, and Munich.<sup>3</sup> Yet for more than two weeks of this period there was virtually no official information forthcoming from the "democratic" governments of Great Britain and France. The only communiqué of any importance issued by either government during the first two weeks of the crisis was one on September 18 stating that they, Britain and France, were in agreement on policy.

In the Fascist states there are as many broadcasts regarding foreign policy as there are anywhere else. The Fascists do not practice secret diplomacy in the sense that foreign policy is not discussed. The usual object, on the contrary, is to present enough material from the government's point of view to win public approval. This does not necessarily mean that the public is made the confidant of the government on either matters of general policy or during negotiations. The discussion frequently comes after a policy has been consummated. As Propaganda Minister Goebbels explained after the Munich crisis: "... it was of the utmost importance during the whole period of the crisis that the so-called situation reports broadcast by the German stations should not give foreign circles the slightest possibility of seeing through the tactics of the German partner to the negotiations and, perhaps, countering them."<sup>4</sup> But the Fascist states have had their greatest success in matters of foreign policy and they have not failed to boast of it. Perhaps their "openness" in this respect is because they have had something of which they could boast.

The radio has done much to acquaint the world at large with the personalities as well as the policies of leading statesmen. Twenty-five years ago when the Sarajevo crisis led to a world conflagration, Sir Edward Grey, Poincaré, Sazanov, von Bülow, and Berchtold were little more than names or pictures to the masses. Few persons today have not heard one or more broadcasts by Mussolini, Hitler, Chamberlain or Daladier. The public has gained in consequence a feeling of intimate knowledge about these leaders. The mere intonations of the leaders' voices may convey impressions of honesty, bravado, determination, or sarcasm in a manner which the

<sup>3</sup>*Crisis. A Report of the Columbia Broadcasting System* (1939); Kingsley Martin, "Public Opinion and the Wireless," in *The Political Quarterly*, April-June, 1939, X, 280-281.

<sup>4</sup>*The (London) Times*, Nov. 19, 1938, p. 12, col. 3.

printed words could never do. Even the moment or place chosen for the delivery of addresses is a part of diplomatic strategy. Hitler, who was the first of the European statesmen to realize the great possibilities of the radio, has on occasions used language about some delicate international point which was quite moderate, but his manner of speaking sounded to the listening Germans as though it were a defiant call to arms. When translated for the world which does not understand the German language, or when seen in print the following day, the message seemed conciliatory enough. This is an example of getting the most out of the possibilities of radio strategy.

To students of the question it has seemed that the radio must inevitably in the long run draw the peoples of the world closer together. It is an instrument *par excellence* for giving one nation knowledge of the culture of other nations. And such knowledge, supposedly, weakens the tendency toward misunderstanding and mistrust. "There can be no question," declares James Rowland Angell, President Emeritus of Yale University, "that . . . radio is . . . slowly but surely creating in the world a much more cosmopolitan and much less provincial outlook."<sup>5</sup> And in the present day battle of political ideologies, students have concluded that the radio is on the side of democracy. Mr. Cantril and Mr. Allport have asserted: "Inherently it (the radio) is a foe of Fascism and cultural nationalism. It presses always toward universal democracy." Dictators in exploiting it are "perverting the natural properties of radio."<sup>6</sup> This is intrinsically true because the success of Fascism depends upon the exclusion from the Fascist state of all non-Fascist propaganda while, theoretically at least, the democracies are founded on the principle of freedom of speech and the press. The success of the radio in fomenting democracy, however, depends upon the amount of positive exploitation of the instrument by the exponents of democracy, and in this respect they have allowed their opponents to forge far ahead.

There have been notable efforts from the beginning of broadcasting on a large scale to use the radio as a means of fostering international peace and good will. Broadcasting

<sup>5</sup>James Rowland Angell, "International Relations in Broadcasting," in *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, Feb. 1939, LXXIII, 73.

<sup>6</sup>Hadley Cantril and Gordon W. Allport, *The Psychology of Radio*, (New York, 1935), p. 22.

companies, philanthropic societies, governments and the League have all taken part. All governments have recognized the absolute necessity of international cooperation in the assignment of frequencies and in the elimination of interference.<sup>7</sup> As every short wave enthusiast knows, there is hardly a state today which fails to use its short wave facilities to acquaint listeners beyond its national boundaries with its culture, contributions, and usually its political views.<sup>8</sup> The International Broadcasting Union (U. I. R.—Union Internationale de Radiodiffusion), a non-partisan and voluntary organization which is the main agent for technical control in Europe, has done notable work in the organization of program exchanges and collective transmissions designed to promote world understanding.<sup>9</sup> In the United States, the Pan American Union, the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation, and the Columbia and National Broadcasting systems have recently begun to sponsor international programs though they have been more particularly interested in inter-American broadcasts.

Agreement among the nations for the purpose of restricting broadcasts that cause ill feeling, whether purposely or accidentally, has proved much more difficult. There have been regional or bilateral agreements in the Americas, one agreement between the German and Polish broadcasting corporations, and one major attempt sponsored by the League at international agreement. The League through its Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, worked out a "Convention for the use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace," and submitted it to the various governments in 1933. Not until the autumn of 1936 did a conference accept the recommendations, and not until April 1938 were there enough ratifications to put the Convention into effect.<sup>10</sup> The signatory powers agreed to ban broadcasting likely to incite people anywhere to rebellion or war or likely to harm international understanding through deliberate untruths. Even so, the Convention merely recom-

<sup>7</sup>For an excellent article on the development of international radio control, particularly from the viewpoint of United States participation, see Howard S. LeRoy, "Treaty Regulation of International Radion and Short Wave Broadcasting," in *American Journal of International Law*, Oct. 1938, LXXXII, 719-737.

<sup>8</sup>See summary of short wave progress during 1938, *New York Times* Jan. 1, 1939, IX, p. 10, col. 3-6.

<sup>9</sup>César Saerchinger, *Hello America*, (Boston, 1938), p. 346ff.

<sup>10</sup>*New York Times*, April 2, 1938, p. 32, col. 5.

mends vigilance against broadcasts that may give offense to national, religious, or social sentiments, and calls attention to transmissions in foreign languages—two points that have long led to international conflict. Moreover, Germany and Italy were not signers of the pact.<sup>11</sup> "Under present conditions," as one writer has concluded, "there would seem to be little possibility of a general self-restraining agreement among the states which engage in hostile broadcasting."<sup>12</sup>

Opposed to the movement to use the radio as an instrument for spreading good will is the much more extensive "war of words" which has assumed alarming proportions. This "White war" or "war of nerves," as it is frequently called, is daily increasing in intensity with no movement worth mentioning for restraining it. While the "war in the ether" is only one phase of the "white war," it is a most important phase. Virtually the only solution which occurs to the countries being subjected to foreign propagandistic assaults is that of building bigger and more powerful stations for an adequate counter attack. Broadcasting equipment, especially short wave, is counted as a part of the national armaments. Thus one English writer estimates that Germany has superior broadcasting facilities to any other state, but that Great Britain and France are together superior to Germany.<sup>13</sup>

The radio war began in the long wave medium, and broadcasts were at first sent from strategically located frontier stations. Very annoying were certain types of commercial advertising from such places in Europe as Luxemburg and in America from the regions south of the United States, but more important were the political broadcasts. In the politically difficult frontier areas in Europe high powered stations became a serious problem. In the Upper Silesian region

<sup>11</sup>César Saerchinger, *Hello America*, (Boston, 1938), pp. 373-374; *Broadcasting and Peace*, Intellectual Cooperation Series, League of Nations, (Paris, 1933).

<sup>12</sup>C. G. Fenwick, "The Use of Radio as an Instrument of Foreign Propaganda," in *The American Journal of International Law*, April 1938, XXXIII, 343.

<sup>13</sup>L. Marsland Gander, "England Fights Back," in *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, reprinted in *Living Age*, July 1939, p. 422. Of course the effectiveness of broadcasts depends upon many factors such as geographical considerations, types and time of broadcasts, number of sets capable of receiving the waves, and elements making for resistance to listening or accepting the broadcasts.

Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Germany all set up stations and all had excuses for broadcasting in different languages that would be understood as far as the waves carried. In France, Strasbourg broadcasts in German, of course, as the language of the region is German. But with their powerful station at Bari the Italians frankly omitted the necessity for excuses and began a devastating attack, in the main languages of the East Mediterranean, on British interests in the region.

Border radio warfare became outdated about 1933 with the perfection of more powerful transmitters, and shortly thereafter short wave stations began to supercede long wave ones. Short wave broadcasting has numerous advantages for purposes of international propaganda. The waves travel greater distances—thousands of miles—with less power, and by arrangement of antenna the broadcasts can be sent to the region desired in the paramount language of the region.<sup>14</sup> If the Fascist states began the radio war, their opponents are today running them a good race. The British short wave center at Daventry, with five powerful transmitters in operation and three in reserve, sends broadcasts daily, or at several appropriate times during the day, to virtually all parts of the world where there are British political or commercial interests. The languages used are English, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, Italian and French. With eight transmitters in operation the Germans pump out programs to the world in English, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, and German. Italy uses twenty or more languages, but Britain and Germany now have superior equipment to the Italians as they have to France and the Soviet Republics, not to mention the numerous smaller states. Space does not permit a discussion here of whether Great Britain and France are justified in retaliating in self-defense, or whether the British, as they claim, stick to "straight news" while the Germans and Italians give only highly colored messages. The point is that a state of radio war has come into existence and that it is daily becoming more intense.

Confronted with this state of affairs the United States has been in some doubt as to what action, if any, it should take. The situation has been complicated to some extent in that broadcasting facilities in the United States are entirely in

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<sup>14</sup>George F. Church, "Short Waves and Propaganda," in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, April 1939, III, 209-222.

private hands. The United States Government has apparently been much more concerned with the short waves directed toward South and Central America than those directed toward the United States proper. In 1937 the National Broadcasting System quietly entered the short wave "news" battle with the inauguration of broadcasts in six languages from its station at Wayne, N. J.<sup>15</sup> Since then the amount of short wave broadcasting to foreign regions has been gradually increased, especially to Latin America. The Pan American Union has encouraged inter-American broadcasting as recommended by several Pan American Conferences. Short wave frequencies for Pan American broadcasting have been granted to the Columbia Broadcasting System, General Electric, and the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation at Boston. The Federal Communication Commission has announced the selection of ten new frequencies for short wave use though they will not become effective until September, 1939.

Meanwhile there has been much confusion as to the intentions of the government toward American participation in the radio war. During 1938 two bills were introduced in Congress—the Chavez-McAdoo bill in the senate and the Celler bill in the House—for the establishment of a government owned and operated short wave station with the primary purpose of counteracting German and Italian propaganda in Latin America. Representative Celler claimed the backing for his bill of President Roosevelt, Mr. Hull, and Mr. Swanson as well as the various interested departments of government.<sup>16</sup> Had either of these bills passed, the Government, whether for better or for worse, would have been in the midst of the radio war. But the Administration was either not certain that it wanted to enter the radio war, as a Government, or was not sure that it could overcome the opposition aroused by the private broadcasting companies to the scheme. In February of 1938 President Roosevelt appointed an expert inter-departmental committee, headed by the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, for the purpose of making a report on the international short wave situation and suggesting the action to be taken by the Government. Many references were made

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<sup>15</sup>César Saerchinger, "Radio as a Political Instrument," in *Foreign Affairs*, Jan. 1938, XVI, 244; *Time*, Jan. 30, 1939, p. 22.

<sup>16</sup>*Congressional Record*, 75th Congress, LXXXIII, Appendix, 2396-2403.

to the report, which was expected "any day" during the summer of 1938, and hearings before the Naval Committee in the House on the Celler bill were suspended until the report could be made. According to the Secretary of the Federal Communications Commission (in a letter dated August 10, 1939 in answer to an inquiry by the writer) "we have no information as to when it (the report) will be available."

The Federal Communications Commission in the meantime has taken action to encourage the private short wave stations and to indicate that they were being placed on a less experimental footing than formerly. In May 1939 short wave broadcasters were empowered to sell time to advertisers. At the same time a F. C. C. ruling was issued that international broadcasts must "reflect the culture of this country" and promote "international good will and understanding." When the private broadcasting companies professed to see in the ruling an attempt at censorship, the rule, pending public hearings, was suspended on July 14, 1939. While no short wave station yet has a commercial sponsor for its programs, the work of changing the lettering of thirteen of the fourteen short wave stations to indicate their commercial basis and more permanent character has been accomplished.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>*Time*, August 28, 1939, p. 59.

## PLANNING AND POLITICS OF STATE REORGANIZATION IN KANSAS

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To most students of administration a brief description of the state administrative setup in Kansas would be sufficient evidence that substantial improvements could be accomplished through reorganization. In addition to the nine elective officials there are more than seventy administrative agencies in the state government.<sup>1</sup> As is usually the case in decentralized administration, duplications of activity occur, related functions are distributed among several agencies, and some agencies carry on widely diversified activities. In 1938 six state agencies were engaged in assessing taxes; seven, in collecting tax revenue for the state.<sup>2</sup> The regulation of out-of-state trucks and busses, under the port of entry system, is divided among three agencies, with a consequent uncertainty concerning ultimate responsibility. And there are departments within which the several subdivisions operate practically as isolated and independent agencies of administration.

An executive budget law has been in force for more than a decade; but an examination of budget reports leads one to conclude that neither the legislature nor the chief executive exercises any large degree of authority to prescribe or control annual expenditures. The law is probably adequate insofar as it applies to preparation and submission of the budget; but the state government of Kansas has never had a genuine executive budget system. The budget report represents an estimate, made by an untrained officer, of the probable needs of spending agencies. It contains no scientific estimates of

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<sup>1</sup>In 1938 there were, exclusive of the elective offices, "21 major departments, boards or commissions, seven minor ones, 15 examining boards, 17 ex officio boards or commissions, five agencies under the Supreme Court, three official state organizations, the Board of Agriculture, and the State Planning Board." *State Administrative Reorganization*; Publication No. 65 of the Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1937; p. 3. Legislation in 1939 actually increased the total number.

<sup>2</sup>That number is exclusive of agencies which collect fees only. In his message to the legislature in January 1939, the Governor said there were "more than 50 state collection agencies now operating." *Message of Governor Payne Ratner to the Kansas Legislature of 1939*, State Printing Plant, Topeka, 1939, p. 5.

revenue, and therefore is not an adequate guide to balancing expenditures against revenues; it contains no recommendations looking toward economies or other improvements in governmental procedure; and it represents only a superficial attempt to determine the relative merits of the several requests for funds.<sup>3</sup> The custom of fixing salaries in general statutes rather than in appropriation acts limits the discretion of the budget director when he submits reports, and it also serves as a deterrent to thorough and periodic consideration of finances by the legislature. More important, however, is the practice whereby general statutes provide that all, or specified portions, of designated revenues shall be appropriated to operating agencies for administrative purposes. The legislature appropriated about eight and one-half million dollars in fixed authorizations for the fiscal year of 1936, whereas expenditures of about 32 million dollars were authorized in accordance with general statutes. Even after excluding educational institutions and the Highway Commission (which is financed by special taxes), we find that fixed appropriations accounted for only about 35% of the state expenditures.<sup>4</sup> Consequently the budget department merely recommends that "fees be appropriated", or that "3% of revenues be appropriated as required by law", for administrative purposes. In a few cases examining boards

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<sup>3</sup>Customarily the office of budget director has been filled on the basis of political qualifications, with relatively little regard for training or experience.

<sup>4</sup>The figures for 1936 were taken because of the convenience of obtaining records. Subsequently the enactment of the sales tax law has added large sums for welfare purposes and for aid to schools and other local governments. But so far as administrative expenditures are concerned another large item has been added to the indefinite authorizations, because 3 percent of all sales tax revenues are appropriated for administration. *Laws of 1937*, ch. 317, sec. 25. The enactment of a new driver's license law likewise added thousands of dollars to the fee appropriations. *Laws of 1937*, ch. 73.

Of the executive agencies which spend over \$100,000 a year, only two (relief and militia) received fixed appropriations for 1936, while six (including the Highway Commission) operated solely on fee or percentage bases. Twenty-three other agencies in this class operated on fixed appropriations plus conditional authorizations, with the former accounting for about 60 percent of their expenses. Fixed appropriations are more common for agencies which spend from \$25,000 to \$100,000; but many minor agencies, particularly the examining boards, operate solely on fee bases. *Budget for 1938-39*.

have accumulated funds which they are unable to spend; and one may wonder if there are not other agencies which spend freely in order to prevent accumulation.

On the side of budget execution we find that the elective state auditor is the controlling officer, while the state accountant, a subordinate of the governor who reports only to the governor, exercises the post-auditing function. The fact that the latter is the assistant budget director and serves at the pleasure of the governor would lead many to insist that the functions of these two officers should be exchanged. While legislation has been enacted to prohibit expenditures in excess of available funds, or commitments in excess of appropriations, no adequate authority exists on the part of either the governor or the auditor to prevent an administrative agency from expending an undue portion of appropriated funds during the early part of a fiscal year. It seems that on at least one occasion a department head has enlarged his staff and expended large sums of money shortly before his retirement from office, thus leaving his successor with insufficient funds for the satisfactory performance of his duties.<sup>5</sup>

These are only some outstanding examples of the confusion in the administrative system; but they should serve as evidence that the government of Kansas, like that of many other states, could be improved substantially by administrative reorganization. For further evidence records show that each of the nine governors since 1915 has submitted to the legislature at least one message in which the need of reorganization has been pointed out. The present governor proposed several specific changes in organization, and also recommended that a legislative committee be appointed "to make a thorough study of a plan for the simplification and rehabilitation of our state governmental set-up in the interest of efficiency and economy."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>See *Topeka Daily Capital*, Dec. 30, 31, 1937. Appropriations are itemized in considerable detail, but no officer exercises general authority to make or approve quarterly or monthly allotments or appropriated funds.

<sup>6</sup>Governor Ratner asserted that "Another definite means by which the state could save money would be by the simplification and rehabilitation of our present departmental setup and a revision of the present structure on a functional basis". Among other things he recommended the establishment of a single department for the collection of revenues. Governor Payne Ratner, *Op. cit.*, p. 5. In proposing that the legislature appoint a

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Although there has been no thorough survey of the entire state administration in Kansas, the repeated recommendations of governors and the supporting pressures have not been without results. A number of piecemeal consolidations and modifications have been enacted; and on two occasions the legislature created special committees to investigate state administration and to recommend changes which were deemed desirable.<sup>7</sup> Funds for these committees were meager, and experts were not called in to assist; but reports were submitted proposing a number of consolidations,<sup>8</sup> of which some of the most important were enacted into law.

It would be unreasonable to suppose that any committee with only a few hundred dollars to spend could make a thorough survey of a state administration. This fact should be sufficient to explain why each committee centered its attention on a few changes which were foremost in the minds of legislators at the time of its establishment. The reports were notable, first, in that little or no attention was given to the institutional services ("staff functions") of administration, and second, in that each committee recommended the establishment of one large department by a sweeping consolidation of several existing agencies of government. In each instance the legislature ordered the major consolidation, and

committee to study plans for further reorganization, he, like his predecessor, either over-looked or ignored the fact that the Legislative Council already had authority to carry on such an investigation under Ch. 207, Laws of 1933.

In 1915 a "joint committee on efficiency and economy" was appointed to "investigate and analyze state administration in Kansas", with instructions to present to the legislature a plan for reorganization which would "abolish needless offices, boards and commissions, concentrate and center responsibilities, eliminate duplication of authority, and reduce the public business to a compact and smoothly working unit". \$500 were appropriated to finance this investigation. Laws of 1915, Ch. 389.

In 1923 the legislature again created a joint committee to investigate state officers and departments. \$5,000 were appropriated for the purpose and about \$3,000 were expended; but the committee devoted a large part of its study to matters not directly related to administrative organization. Laws of 1925, Ch. 245.

<sup>7</sup>*Partial Report of the Efficiency and Economy Committee, Kansas State Printing Plant, Topeka, 1916; Report of Bipartisan Investigating Committee, printed for the Senate, Topeka, 1925, pp. 3-6.*

in each instance it was found necessary within a few years to undo that work at least in part.

The legislature of 1917 carried out the special committee's recommendations in a modified form by grouping all state educational, charitable, and correctional institutions under a single Board of Administration (of which the governor was a member), and by providing that a single Business Manager (who would also serve as purchasing agent) be appointed for these institutions.<sup>9</sup> But in 1925, after some political interference with affairs of the University on the part of an outgoing governor, a separate Board of Regents was created for the institutions of higher education, leaving the Board of Administration in charge of the charitable and correctional institutions.<sup>10</sup> However, the Business Manager, previously mentioned, continues to exercise authority over both classes of institutions, with the result that there is some uncertainty

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<sup>9</sup>Ch. 297, Laws of 1917.

The consolidation as enacted was not like that which the committee had recommended, although the same institutions were involved. Instead of a Commissioner of Educational Institutions, and a Commissioner of Penal and Correctional Institutions, the legislature created a single "Business Manager" to manage all institutions. The Board of Administration, instead of being entirely *ex officio* as proposed, became a board of three appointed members in addition to the Governor, who served *ex officio*.

The Business Manager was also made Purchasing Agent for institutions and, in some cases, for other State offices and agencies. In fact, however, he could hardly be said to have served as purchasing agent even for the institutions.

<sup>10</sup>*Laws of 1925*, Ch. 259. In 1939 the functions of the Board of Administration were restricted to penal institutions exclusively. *Laws of 1939*, Chs. 202 and 285.

<sup>11</sup>The original law provided that the business manager "shall, under the board, have full authority to manage and control such institutions by and with the advice of the board, and to purchase all the supplies required of such institutions, in the manner hereinafter provided." *Laws of 1917*, Ch. 297, sec. 8.

The Act of 1925 provides that "all powers and duties now or hereafter conferred upon the state business manager relating to said educational institutions herein named, shall be exercised by such business manager by and through said board of regents." *Laws of 1925*, Ch. 259, sec. 2. Under the Welfare Law of 1939, the Business Manager is placed in a similar relationship to the Social Welfare Board insofar as state charitable institutions are concerned. *Laws of 1939*, Ch. 202, sec. 7. But the business manager is appointed and may be removed by the Board of Administration. *General Statutes of Kansas*, 1935; 74-108.

and confusion as to his relationship to the Board of Regents.<sup>11</sup>

In 1925 a similar sequence of events followed the report of a special committee which proposed that all functions of the State Tax Commission, the Public Utilities Commission, and the Court of Industrial Relations be transferred to a single Public Service Commission. The consolidation was enacted into law,<sup>12</sup> in spite of the fact that the Public Utilities Commission had been created only four years before in order to relieve the Court of Industrial Relations of excessive burdens imposed upon it. The expressed purpose of this consolidation was "to promote efficiency and economy" by reducing the number of administrative agencies;<sup>13</sup> but the incentive to action probably arose from a change in partisan control of the governorship and the desire of politicians to change the personnel of administrative agencies as quickly as possible. It was soon discovered, however, that consolidation of widely diversified activities does not promote efficiency. Consequently, on recommendation of the governor, the legislature of 1929 re-established the Tax Commission, and created a new department of labor and industries, thereby restoring the Public Service Commission to the status of the earlier Public Utilities Commission.<sup>14</sup> Aside from the top control and the exercise of quasi-judicial functions the changes have not been significant, because internal relationships and procedures remained essentially the same.

Both of the special committees mentioned above recommended the consolidation of certain inspectional functions, and similar recommendations were made by several governors. Finally in 1933 the legislature acted on these recommendations by creating a Department of Inspections and Registration, to which were assigned not only the functions of hotel inspection, fire inspection, and oil inspection, but also the collection of the gasoline tax, the cigarette tax, and, later, the malt beverage

<sup>12</sup>Laws of 1925; ch. 258.

<sup>13</sup>The committee report presents no reasons why economy or efficiency would be promoted by consolidation of these agencies. One single sentence covers the entire subject, *Report of Bipartisan Investigating Committee*, (printed for the Senate), Topeka, 1925, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup>Laws of 1929, chapters 258, 259, and 260. See also governor's message in *Kansas State Journal*, 1929, pp. 26, 34.

In 1933 the State Corporation Commission replaced the Public Service Commission, and the regulation of securities was added to its functions. *Laws of 1933, Ch. 275*. Again the primary purpose of that change was to expedite political turnover.

tax.<sup>15</sup> The new department became primarily a revenue collecting agency, and, consequently, its activities and personnel would be vitally affected by any subsequent attempt to reorganize and consolidate tax administration. This occurred in 1939, when, in addition to creating a Commission of Revenue and Taxation, the legislature abolished the Department of Inspections and Registration and restored the hotel inspection agency and the fire marshal to their previous independent positions.

Thus we find that the three most important consolidations prescribed by the legislature after somewhat superficial investigations were followed, in each case within a few years, by dismemberment and complete or modified restoration of the previously existing agencies. It might also be noted in passing that none of these acts produced a genuine consolidation of functions except those relating to top control. Other instances could be cited to show that when governmental agencies are reorganized without careful study the most notable result is frequently an instability of administrative organization.<sup>16</sup>

## II

With this background of experience Kansas recently began to consider once more the advisability of a general reorganization of its state administrative structure and procedure. But today this state is in a position to make a new and unique approach to a problem which has been faced or must soon be faced by practically every state in the union. Kansas now has a well established Legislative Council, equipped with a qualified research staff and possessed with ample authority to investigate and report upon the question.<sup>17</sup> This, of course, is the logical agency by which the preparatory study of the problem should be carried on.

In the spring of 1937 the Legislative Council received and referred to committee a proposal to examine into the need of

<sup>15</sup>Laws of 1933, Ch. 317.

<sup>16</sup>The Court of Industrial Relations created in 1920, (Laws of 1920, Ch. 29), was divided into two departments the following year (Laws of 1921, Ch. 260) and abolished by the consolidation of 1925 (Laws of 1925, Ch. 258). See also Laws of 1923, as changed by Laws of 1927.

<sup>17</sup>Laws of 1933, Ch. 207, sec. 3, (1).

<sup>18</sup>Proposal No. 9, *Journals of the Legislative Council*, Session of May 1937. See also Resolution No. 2 of same session.

administrative reorganization.<sup>18</sup> Although the proposal was not acted upon by the Council, the research staff, working under instructions from committee, proceeded to collect and digest information about the existing administrative system of the state and about plans proposed or adopted in other states.

The research department proceeded upon the justifiable assumption that in the early stages of planning the problem of reorganization is political rather than technical. In order to present vital information to the political authorities it is doubtless essential that the staff investigators have a thorough knowledge of administrative techniques in the state, as well as of the general principles and problems of administration. But the best of advice is of little value if those who are expected to act thereon are frightened or antagonized before they are in a position to understand or to appreciate the advice, or if the advice fails to attract interest from the start. The political impact of the national controversy over administrative organization; the political influence of the several administrative officials, and their probable reactions to proposals or reports which might affect them; the hopes and fears of leading politicians in the state together with their particular concept of democracy—all of these factors and others must be kept constantly in mind by the research staff in determining what information or what suggestions may wisely be placed before the legislators. The danger always present is that if certain prominent legislators or administrative officers are led to commit themselves in opposition to the whole idea at an early stage of consideration, then years may pass before open-minded deliberation on the question is again obtainable.

In most states plans of reorganization have been prepared and submitted as the result of active interest on the part of the governors, together, frequently, with the approval and support of leading civic agencies. Legislatures have been induced to authorize surveys, or in some instances the surveys have been made possible by private contributions. One of these surveys usually results in the submission, and publication, of a comprehensive report describing historical developments and current administrative practices, and recommending an elaborate plan of reorganization. Thereafter the action taken upon these recommendations depends primarily upon the political strength of the governor, together with his interest in

the proposed reorganization.<sup>19</sup> It is improbable that legislators will themselves read a voluminous report; and it is even more improbable that they will be sufficiently moved by its close-packed pages to assume responsibility for the changes proposed therein. Experience has shown that few of these surveys are accepted and acted upon in toto, and that only about half the time does even a partial reorganization follow.<sup>20</sup>

The research staff of the Kansas Legislative Council have taken these facts and others into consideration. They realize not only that administrative reorganization in this state requires a carefully planned process of education among civic leaders inside and outside of the legislature, but also that every precaution must be taken to insure careful scrutiny of reports submitted to the legislature. Experience has shown that legislators will read brief reports even when several are presented in series; but they are loath to examine a report of several hundred pages. The technique of presentation, which is still in an experimental stage, has been developed for a primary purpose of obtaining actual perusal, and for the further purpose of obtaining recognition of the fact that material is presented to serve as a basis for intelligent decisions, with no intent to advocate a program.

### III

Since the research department has its own staff available for a study of the historical background and current practices in Kansas, it is not necessary to engage specialists from outside the state for that purpose. However, the appropriate activities of a local agency of its character are limited in a way that may make it impractical to leave all of the planning to this department. The most important limitation arises from the fact that a legislative research staff must seek to avoid the suggestion of an attempt to advocate a program of action. The research department of the Kansas Legislative Council has consistently

<sup>19</sup>It is notable that the following well known names of Governors are associated with State reorganization acts: Coolidge (Mass.), Lowden (Ill.), Cox (Ohio survey), Smith (N. Y.), Pinchot (Pa.), Ritchie (Md.), Byrd (Va.), Russell (Ga.), McNutt (Ind.), Chandler (Ky), and Cross (Conn.).

<sup>20</sup>Of 26 reports submitted after surveys by four national research agencies, exactly half were followed by either partial or comprehensive reorganization acts. In most of these cases the recommended plans were followed at least in part. (Information collected by the Research Staff of the Kansas Legislative Council.)

refrained from making recommendations; it looks upon itself as an agency engaged only in gathering information, and leaves decisions upon policy to the Legislative Council, or to others for whom the information has been obtained. But the preparation of a plan of reorganization hardly could be left to persons not technically trained in administration. Therefore the choice had to be made from among two or three alternative methods of approach.

The first possible alternative was that, after presenting facts about the present administrative system in a way that would lead the legislators to realize vital defects on the basis of the facts themselves, the research staff would submit to the Legislative Council various alternative plans of reorganization based upon recommendations made as a result of surveys in other states. The Council could then choose from among the plans and direct the research staff to draw up details adaptable to Kansas. All matters of advocacy would be left to members of the Council, or perhaps to the executive if he saw fit to urge the reorganization. The difficulties in this procedure lay, first, in the fact that the research department might find it very difficult to avoid the charge of advocating a plan (for details of a plan may arouse more controversy than general statements), and second, in the uncertainty of finding among politicians leaders capable of taking over responsibility for deciding upon even the most general outline of a reorganization.

A second alternative was for the research department to collect the factual information and then to advise that the Council call in representatives of a research agency outside of the state (such as those which have made surveys and reports for several other states), leaving to this outside agency the task of drawing up and recommending a plan of reorganization for Kansas. This procedure might be desirable, because, although it should result in the presentation of a plan of reorganization drawn up by persons well qualified for the task, these persons need not display the same impartiality as is necessary on the part of the local research department. Such advisers could appear before the Legislative Council and speak their minds more freely, and they could be more openly critical of the existing organization and procedure. The Legislative Council would still be free to choose among alternative plans of reorganization; but the special advisers would be in a posi-

tion to criticize freely any plan suggested, and to work out the details of whatever plan the Council should decide upon.

But it would not be sufficient for the research department quietly to collect facts and then to call in experts from the outside without engaging in a preliminary program of education. It is doubtful whether those in control of necessary funds would agree to the importation of experts from outside the state until they are convinced, at least in part, that reorganization was needed. Furthermore, if the method of approach to reorganization were the same as that used elsewhere in the past, no distinct advantages would be gained by the presence of the Legislative Council organization.

The third alternative, which could be followed with or without the assistance of advisers from outside the state, was for the research staff to collect and submit to the Council information and suggestions pointing toward piecemeal reorganization rather than a thorough revision of the entire administrative system. Despite the possible weaknesses of this approach,<sup>21</sup> it would perhaps be easier to interest legislators in proposals for specific and relatively minor changes than in the general principles of administration from which a comprehensive reorganization would proceed. Moreover, the consideration of a particular branch of administration would involve less risk of entanglement with the national issue. This third approach has an additional advantage in that more attention can be given to details of installation when only a small part of the administrative machinery needs to be considered at one time.

Although the director of research had long been considering the relative merits of the above-mentioned methods of approach, it was obvious that the final choice of alternatives must be made, deliberately or otherwise, by members of the Legislative Council. The choice was made, by means of the expression of interest in specific problems, and plans for piecemeal reorganization were prepared for the legislature of 1939. In spite of the fact that the first report of the research staff presented a brief account of the general reorganization movement in other states, Council members demonstrated a greater (though still largely passive) interest in simplifying the state

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<sup>21</sup>A. E. Buck, *The Reorganization of State Governments in the United States* (New York, 1938), p. 34. But see Harvey Walker, *Public Administration* (New York, 1937), p. 82.

revenue administration.<sup>22</sup> Later the Council committee instructed the research staff to prepare a report on a possible department of business regulation, a second on a possible department of revenue, and a third on a possible department of finance.<sup>23</sup> Since changes designed to carry out the plans set forth in any one of these reports would probably affect the functions of several existing state agencies, legislative consideration of the problems may in time call forth a fairly complete plan of reorganization.

#### IV

Mention has already been made of the fact that the problem of preparing for administrative reorganization is largely political. Success or failure of an attempt to secure adoption of reorganization plans depends more upon the underlying political situation than upon the technical soundness of the proposals. The political experience of Kansas during the past two years bears witness to this fact.

When the proposal to study the problem of reorganization was submitted to the Legislative Council two serious obstacles seemed to stand in the way of any plans to improve the state administration. One was the fact that the governor and the legislative majority were of opposing parties, and that the latter would hesitate to adopt a program which might become a strong political asset to the administration.<sup>24</sup> The other arose from the bitter Congressional battle over the proposed national reorganization, which led many to feel the administrative consolidation was somehow contrary to Republican policies.

But before the next session of the legislature, the political situation had changed considerably. The national controversy over reorganization apparently had not aroused as much excitement as Congressional speeches and newspaper headlines had indicated. And in the State government the Republican party had regained control of the governorship and strengthened its control of the legislature.

<sup>22</sup>Publication No. 65: *State Administrative Reorganization*; Publication No. 72, *Concentration of State Tax Administration* was issued in May 1938.

<sup>23</sup>Publication No. 79, *A Possible Department of Business Regulation*; No. 80, *A Possible Department of Revenue*; and No. 81, *State Financial Administration in Kansas*.

<sup>24</sup>The names listed under footnote 19 suggest the political value of reorganization to the governor.

This change in control of the governorship was no doubt the principal motive force behind the enactment of several legislative acts to reorganize state administrative agencies. A party which had been starving for lack of patronage regained power; but under the existing law the old commissions and department heads would remain in office for several months, and, in one or two cases, throughout the term of the new governor. By the familiar process of abolishing administrative agencies and creating new ones of a slightly different hue, it was possible within a few weeks to change the partisan color of several divisions of the government. The total result was an actual increase in the number of administrative agencies, and much of the legislation served no purpose other than the expedition of political turnover and the further promotion of instability in administrative organization.

But the numerical measure does not present a true picture of the changes which were made. Two of the additional agencies were created to perform functions not previously performed by the state,<sup>25</sup> and in other cases separations were designed to promote greater functional unity within departments. In most cases operating procedures were not affected, outside of the top control.

Important changes included the abolition of the three-member Labor Commission, and the creation in its place of two new departments headed by single directors (the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner and the Commissioner of Labor);<sup>26</sup> the creation of a three-member, full time, Social Welfare Board in place of the Board-Director type of departmental leadership;<sup>27</sup> the removal of all non-penal institutions from the Board of Administration to the Social Welfare Department or to the Board of Regents;<sup>28</sup> and the abolition of the Motor Vehicle Department and transfer of its functions to the Highway Commission.<sup>29</sup> But these changes did not arise from

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<sup>25</sup>New agencies are the Industrial Development Commission and the Bureau of Investigation. The latter is under the Attorney General. *Laws of 1939*, Chs. 292 and 310.

<sup>26</sup>*Laws of 1939*, Ch. 294.

<sup>27</sup>*Laws of 1939*, Ch. 202.

<sup>28</sup>*Laws of 1939*, Chs. 202, 285, and 289.

<sup>29</sup>*Laws of 1939*, Ch. 299.

Other changes included the creation of a six-man bipartisan, Forestry, Fish, and Game Commission with a Director serving at its pleasure instead

research studies looking toward general administrative reorganization. The only act which could be placed definitely in that class was the act by which a new State Commission of Revenue and Taxation was created to assume the duties of the old Tax Commission as well as the revenue collecting functions of the Department of Inspections and Registration.<sup>30</sup> Under this law the Commission itself performs the functions of the old Tax Commission, while the administration of sales, income, and inheritance taxes, as well as of functions transferred from the Department of Inspections and Registration, is assigned to a Director of Revenue, who serves under the Commission.<sup>31</sup>

Of itself the creation of the new Commission of Revenue and Taxation may have been of little importance. Though subordinate to the Tax Commission in law and in the control of personnel, the sales and income tax divisions (they were called "Departments") had previously functioned as practically independent agencies.<sup>32</sup> The same situation might well continue under the new law, and the added agencies might remain equally independent. But the legislature has sought to prevent a mere transfer of control in this case.

In order to insure that this major transfer of functions

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of a three-man Commission working with a Director who was appointed by the governor; recreation of the Board of Regents on a bipartisan basis; abolition of the State Printing Commission and transfer of its functions to the Budget Director; and creation of the State Fire Marshal and the Hotel and Restaurant Board as independent agencies. The functions of the two agencies last mentioned had been performed by the Department of Inspections and Registration. Laws of 1939, Chs. 290, 289, 297, and 198, respectively.

<sup>30</sup>Laws of 1939, Ch. 288.

The Department of Inspections and Registration, hailed six years before as a major step in consolidation, was abolished, and all of its functions were transferred to the Director of Revenue except those assigned to the newly created (functionally recreated) Hotel and Restaurant Board and State Fire Marshal.

<sup>31</sup>While the Director is appointed by the Commission, he is subject to removal by the governor "at any time". Laws of 1939, Ch. 288, sec. 2.

<sup>32</sup>Rules and regulations had to be approved by the Commission then as now. On the other hand, the control of personnel differed little if any from that of an independent agency, for in either case, the selections frequently originate with the governor or with the State party chairman.

would be more than a "paper reorganization", funds were appropriated to the research department of the Legislative Council to install the operating system of the new Commission of Revenue and Taxation. It was this action, which, more than any other, marks what may be a successful beginning of the plans to carry out a logical solution to the problem of administrative reorganization, and which may be looked upon in the future as the most important part of the reorganization program enacted by the legislature of 1939.

One cannot predict at this time what progress will be made with respect to administrative reorganization. The several minor changes made by the legislature of 1939 may serve as deterrents to further changes in the near future. On the other hand, the governor's proposal that the legislature appoint a committee to study "a plan for simplification and rehabilitation of our state government setup in the interest of efficiency and economy" suggests an interest in further action. Much depends upon the result of the installations in the revenue department. If improvements can be made which will impress the legislators in this case,<sup>33</sup> further plans for consolidation may be considered in a more favorable light, and in that case, programs of reorganization may have a prominent place on the agenda of the Legislative Council for several years to come. Whatever the developments in the next few years, students of public administration will be interested in observing the results of a procedure whereby preliminary investigation and planning for administrative reorganization as well as installation of new procedures are carried on by a permanent research staff under the direction of the Kansas Legislative Council.

<sup>33</sup>There are many difficulties involved in the installation. Politicians, anxious to dispense patronage as rapidly as possible, may make commitments which tend to freeze certain branches of the existing organization before the new procedures can be installed. Moreover, the research agency is not free to do more than suggest a system of personnel administration, and therefore the success of the new organization may depend, to a large extent, upon the calibre of the personnel chosen under the present spoils system.

## REGIONAL VARIATION IN BUSINESS CYCLES IN THE UNITED STATES

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There has been considerable interest in recent years in the analysis of economic activity in restricted areas in various parts of the United States with the primary purpose of discovering local peculiarities in business cycles. The studies cover many different types of regional units, such as cities, metropolitan trading areas, states, federal reserve districts or other large regions, and the operating areas of a business enterprise. The most comprehensive set of regional indexes are the McCann-Erickson "Regional Trade Barometers" for 29 regions, published currently in Dun's Review. Other examples of composite regional indexes are those constructed for New England and the Rocky Mountain region, for the Cleveland and Minneapolis federal reserve districts, for territories of the operating companies of the American Telephone and Telegraph System, for the states of Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, Indiana, Iowa, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin, for the cities of Detroit and Toledo, and for areas including and surrounding the cities of Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Many of these indexes are being maintained currently.

There has been no agreement regarding the proper choice of a region for such analyses, nor any attempt to relate the various indexes to each other. In fact, the study of the relationship between national or international cycles and regional economic activity in the United States has not received adequate attention,<sup>1</sup> and few of the studies have made detailed investigations of the differences shown by measures of economic ac-

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<sup>1</sup>Significant published studies concerned in whole or in part with regional cyclical differences in the United States are: Joseph B. Hubbard, "An Analysis of Building Statistics for the United States," *The Review of Economic Statistics*, VI (1924), pp. 32-62; Warren M. Persons, "Cyclical Fluctuations of the Ratio of Bank Loans to Deposits, 1867-1924," *ibid.*, VI (1924), pp. 260-283; Allyn A. Young, "An Analysis of Bank Statistics for the United States," *ibid.*, VI (1924), pp. 284-296, VII (1925), pp. 19-37, 86-104, and IX (1927), pp. 121-141; Ada M. Matthews and A. Ross Eckler, "Regional Business Conditions: A Study of Bank Debts," *ibid.*, X (1928), pp. 140-155.

tivity for given regional classifications. A systematic analysis of the variation of cyclical fluctuations from region to region would provide information valuable in appraising the importance of computing regional index numbers and would throw additional light on the nature of business cycles in various regions.

For the purpose of such an analysis, the post-war period 1919-1931 represents a chronological unit in recent cyclical history; it falls between the unusual cyclical fluctuations occurring during the war and during the worst years of "the great depression". The characteristics of the regional cyclical variations are probably more stable or "normal" during this period than in either the immediately preceding or immediately following periods. For this post-war period, an analysis is presented in this paper of the regional variation in the bimonthly cycles of bank debits and department store sales by federal reserve districts together with a comparison of the cycles of the districts with those for the United States.<sup>2</sup> Bank debits and department store sales are significant measures of business conditions which are reasonably representative of economic activity by regions. This is especially true of bank debits. The federal reserve districts are suitable regions for analysis; they represent a division of the country into a con-

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<sup>2</sup>Of the twenty-six series analyzed, all cover the years 1919-1931, except that department store sales in the Chicago and St. Louis districts cover 1921-1931 and in the Kansas City district 1924-1931. Bank debits for New York City were subtracted from debits for the United States and for the New York district in order to eliminate the influence of speculative activity in New York City. The measures of bimonthly cyclical fluctuations for both sets of data (bank debits and department store sales) were expressed in terms of deviations from trend adjusted for seasonal variation and in units of average deviation. In the case of department store sales it was possible to use some of the data which had already been adjusted for seasonal variation by the research division of the Federal Reserve Board. In fitting trend lines to the twelve regional series and the United States series in each set, an effort was made to secure comparable fits in the sense that the levels or normals of the cycles are similar for all of the series in a set, so that differences in regional cycles due to variations in the fits of the trend lines are minimized. By expression each series in units of its average deviation, a measure of its typical amplitude, the cycles of the various series are adjusted for differences in their average amplitudes. This adjustment facilitates a comparison of the time sequences and especially of the cyclical patterns.

venient number of fairly homogeneous economic units. The data were utilized in bimonthly form in order to reduce the amount of calculation. The use of bimonthly items provides a time interval sufficiently small to recognize significant differences in timing, amplitude, and pattern of cyclical fluctuations, and has the further advantage of smoothing out small erratic movements in the figures for the cycles.

#### REGIONAL VARIATION IN TIME SEQUENCE

The regional series did not show any marked tendencies to lead or lag from their corresponding national series.<sup>3</sup> There was, however, some tendency for department store sales for the Chicago and St. Louis districts and for bank debits for the Dallas district to lead the United States series. On the other hand, debits for the Chicago and St. Louis districts tended to coincide in timing with United States debits. Bank debits for the Minneapolis, Kansas City, Atlanta, and Philadelphia districts and department store sales for the New York district had a slight tendency to lead the United States series. It is noteworthy that debits for the San Francisco district appeared to lag United States debits slightly, while debits for the neighboring districts of Minneapolis, Kansas City, and Dallas showed some tendency to lead the United States. It appears that business cycles in some of the eastern parts of the country certainly did not precede, but may even have followed cycles in parts of western United States during the period analyzed. The outstanding characteristic of the time sequences of the regional series, however, is their general agreement, notwithstanding some irregularities, with one another and with the time sequences of the series for the United States.

#### REGIONAL VARIATION IN AMPLITUDE

There is considerable variation in the magnitude of the cyclical fluctuations, as measured by the average deviation, in the same type of data from district to district (See the first two columns of figures in Table 1.) Direct comparisons between the average deviations of debits and sales, however, are misleading because of the large differences between the averages and the dispersion of the two sets of measures. To re-

<sup>3</sup>Agreement in the timing of certain regional series for the United States has been noted by Hubbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 43 and Matthews and Eckler, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

TABLE 1

MEASURE OF THE CYCLICAL AMPLITUDES OF BANK DEBITS AND  
DEPARTMENT STORE SALES FOR THE UNITED STATES AND THE  
FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICTS, 1919-1931\*

| District          | Average Deviation<br>(Unit: 1 per cent) |                         | Adjusted Average Deviation**<br>(Unit: 1 average deviation) |                         |                                   |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
|                   | Bank<br>Debits                          | Dept.<br>Store<br>Sales | Bank<br>Debits                                              | Dept.<br>Store<br>Sales | Average<br>of Debits<br>and Sales |
| United States     | 10.63                                   | 5.49                    | -----                                                       | -----                   | -----                             |
| 1. Boston         | 10.45                                   | 4.22                    | + .09                                                       | - 1.49                  | - .70                             |
| 2. New York       | 9.65                                    | 4.60                    | - .87                                                       | - 1.17                  | - 1.02                            |
| 3. Philadelphia   | 9.91                                    | 6.20                    | - .56                                                       | + .20                   | - .18                             |
| 4. Cleveland      | 10.33                                   | 7.61                    | - .05                                                       | + 1.40                  | + .68                             |
| 5. Richmond       | 7.02                                    | 4.47                    | - 4.01                                                      | - 1.28                  | - 2.65                            |
| 6. Atlanta        | 12.85                                   | 6.85                    | + 2.96                                                      | + .75                   | + 1.86                            |
| 7. Chicago        | 11.23                                   | 8.10                    | + 1.02                                                      | + 1.82                  | + 1.42                            |
| 8. St. Louis      | 10.55                                   | 6.57                    | + .21                                                       | + .51                   | + .36                             |
| 9. Minneapolis    | 10.78                                   | 5.70                    | + .48                                                       | - .23                   | + .13                             |
| 10. Kansas City   | 9.95                                    | 4.13                    | - .51                                                       | - 1.57                  | - 1.04                            |
| 11. Dallas        | 10.65                                   | 7.52                    | + .33                                                       | + 1.32                  | + .83                             |
| 12. San Francisco | 11.13                                   | 5.67                    | + .90                                                       | - .26                   | + .32                             |

\*Except that department store sales in the Chicago and St. Louis districts cover 1921-1931 and in the Kansas City district 1924-1931. Bank debits for New York City were excluded from debits for the United States and the New York district.

\*\*The average deviations expressed as deviations from their respective averages and in units of their respective average deviations.

duce the measures of amplitude to a comparable basis, the average deviations of each set of regional series were expressed as deviations from their arithmetic average and in units of their own average deviation. These adjusted measures of amplitude for debits and sales, together with averages for the two series, are presented in the last three columns of Table 1.

The smallest cyclical amplitude (based on the average of the adjusted average deviations) occurred in the Richmond district (-2.65) and the largest in the Atlanta district (+1.86). With the districts arranged in order from that with the lowest cyclical amplitude to that with the highest (based on the average adjusted average deviations), four districts lying along the Atlantic coast rank first (Richmond), third (New York), fourth (Boston), and fifth (Philadelphia); the districts in central and western United States rank second (Kansas City), sixth (Minneapolis), seventh (San Francisco), eighth (St. Louis), ninth (Cleveland), and eleventh (Chicago); and the districts in the Gulf region rank tenth (Dallas) and twelfth (Atlanta).

An examination of the regional measures of amplitude indicates that agricultural regions display no characteristic

cyclical intensities as compared to industrial regions. Some relationship might be expected to exist, however, between changes in the relative industrial growth or decline in the various districts and the amplitude of their cycles. In an attempt to test this possibility, the 1919 and 1929 statistics of the average number of wage earners and value added by manufacture were selected as indicators of industrial activity. Since both 1919 and 1929 fall in prosperity phases of the cycle, percentage comparisons between these two years should give reasonable estimates of the basic changes in industrial activity in the reserve districts (See the first two columns of figures in Table 2). Assuming that the percentage com-

TABLE 2

MEASURES OF INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND OF DEGREE OF  
INDUSTRIALIZATION FOR THE UNITED STATES  
AND THE FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICTS

| District          | 1929 Data as Percentage of*<br>1919 Data |                                         | Per Capita**<br>Value Ad-<br>ded by Man-<br>ufacture<br>1929 | Percentage**<br>of Wage<br>Earners in<br>Total Pop-<br>ulation<br>1929 |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                   | Average<br>Number<br>of Wage<br>Earners  | Value Ad-<br>ded by<br>Manu-<br>facture |                                                              |                                                                        |
| United States     | 97.2                                     | 127.3                                   | \$260                                                        | 7.20                                                                   |
| 1. Boston         | 81.1                                     | 100.0                                   | 391                                                          | 13.36                                                                  |
| 2. New York       | 89.7                                     | 126.1                                   | 411                                                          | 9.43                                                                   |
| 3. New York***    | 90.6                                     | 125.8                                   | 390                                                          | 10.42                                                                  |
| 2. Philadelphia   | 87.6                                     | 114.0                                   | 355                                                          | 10.73                                                                  |
| 4. Cleveland      | 98.0                                     | 123.1                                   | 370                                                          | 9.78                                                                   |
| 5. Richmond       | 112.7                                    | 139.6                                   | 170                                                          | 5.81                                                                   |
| 6. Atlanta        | 107.9                                    | 117.9                                   | 104                                                          | 4.82                                                                   |
| 7. Chicago        | 108.7                                    | 144.9                                   | 378                                                          | 9.44                                                                   |
| 8. St. Louis      | 105.2                                    | 135.8                                   | 134                                                          | 4.19                                                                   |
| 9. Minneapolis    | 86.9                                     | 115.9                                   | 115                                                          | 3.17                                                                   |
| 10. Kansas City   | 92.0                                     | 135.6                                   | 108                                                          | 2.47                                                                   |
| 11. Dallas        | 125.6                                    | 152.5                                   | 78                                                           | 2.38                                                                   |
| 12. San Francisco | 107.5                                    | 147.2                                   | 215                                                          | 5.36                                                                   |

\*The percentages were computed from the statistics of the average number of wage earners and of value added by manufacture, by federal reserve districts, for 1919 and 1929 which were compiled from the state and county statistics given in the *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IX, Manufactures* and the *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Manufactures, Vol. III*. Where statistics in the census reports are combined for several counties some of which fall in one federal reserve district and some in another, the data were allocated to the districts involved in proportion to the number of counties in each district. Manufacturing is relatively unimportant in the counties for which such adjustments were made.

\*\*Computed from the 1929 statistics for value added by manufacture and for average number of wage earners and the April 1, 1930 statistics of population. The population statistics for the federal reserve districts were secured from the *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Federal Reserve Board (1930)*, p. 341

\*\*\*Excluding New York City.

parisons for the two sets of data taken from the census reports are adequate measures of industrial change in the various

districts, we find, however, that very little relationship exists between these measures and the measures of cyclical amplitude. There is a slight tendency for the measures of industrial change to be high in districts with large measures of amplitude for department stores sales and bank debits and vice versa, if the exceptionally low measure of amplitude in the Richmond district is not considered in the series for debits.

The amount of the dispersion of the rates of growth or decline of leading industries by districts, especially of industries producing durable goods, is probably much more closely associated with regional cyclical amplitude than the growth or decline of total industry.<sup>4</sup> As adequate statistics of the growth or decline of specific industries by federal reserve districts are not available, it is not possible to test this hypothesis systematically. It may be suggestive, nevertheless, to note that the Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas, and Cleveland districts, which had, on the average, the four largest measures of amplitude of the series analyzed, had well-known changes in important industries in the period studied. In the Chicago and Cleveland districts, a considerable development occurred in the steel, electrical machinery, and automobile industries, all of which produce durable goods. In the Atlanta district, a significant development occurred in the textile industry. The Dallas district had a very substantial growth of the petroleum refining industry and a decline in the lumber industry. The large amplitude in the Atlanta district, however, was due in some measure to the effects of the speculation in Florida land during part of the period covered by the data. It cannot be determined how much of the cyclical swing in each district may be accounted for by local factors affecting prices to which each of the sets of data analyzed is subject.

#### REGIONAL VARIATION IN PATTERN

The cyclical fluctuations of regional series may show variations in the pattern or form of the cycles as well as in time sequence or amplitude. For example, one regional series may have a rapid recovery from a depression while another may have a slow recovery; one series may move practically

<sup>4</sup>Frederick C. Mills has suggested that "It is a plausible hypothesis that the amplitude and, perhaps, the duration of business cycles are functions of the degree of difference among rates of change in important industries." *Economic Tendencies in the United States* (National Bureau of Economic Research, 1932), p. 10n.

horizontally during a period in which another may show a peak or a trough. An analysis of each of such variations has not been undertaken in this paper, but attention rather has been directed to a study of the overall variations of regional from national patterns.

For a quantitative measure of the degree of relationship between the cycles of each regional series and those of the corresponding national series, the writer used the coefficient of similarity devised by George R. Davies.<sup>5</sup> This measure of relationship does not emphasize the effect of large deviations from "normal" as much as the Pearsonian coefficient of correlation.

The coefficients of similarity between the cycles for the United States and each regional series for bank debits and department store sales are as follows:

|                          | Bank Debits | Dept. Store Sales |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1. Boston                | + .82       | + .74             |
| 2. New York <sup>6</sup> | + .88       | + .81             |
| 3. Philadelphia          | + .88       | + .67             |
| 4. Cleveland             | + .91       | + .82             |
| 5. Richmond              | + .78       | + .68             |
| 6. Atlanta               | + .77       | + .77             |
| 7. Chicago               | + .94       | + .78             |
| 8. St. Louis             | + .76       | + .73             |
| 9. Minneapolis           | + .70       | + .49             |
| 10. Kansas City          | + .75       | + .66             |
| 11. Dallas               | + .81       | + .68             |
| 12. San Francisco        | + .88       | + .81             |

While variations from national cyclical patterns occurred in all regions, some regions had a greater tendency to vary from national cycles than others. The coefficients for debits range from +.70 for the Minneapolis district to +.94 for the Chicago district; while the coefficients for sales range from +.49 for the Minneapolis district to +.82 for the Cleveland district. Though the coefficients for bank debits are slightly

<sup>5</sup>"First Moment Correlation", *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXV (1930), pp. 413-427. This coefficient ( $S_m$ ) is computed by the use of the formula,  $S_m = \sum s/n$ , "where  $s$  is the smaller of each pair of correlative deviations, written in average deviation units." (p. 420) The coefficient of similarity varies between the limits of -1 and +1, indicating perfect inverse relationship at -1, no relationship at 0, and perfect direct relationship at +1.

<sup>6</sup>The statistics for bank debits do not include New York City.

higher, on the average, than those for department store sales, there is, in general, fairly close relationship between the coefficients for the two series.

On the basis of averages of the coefficients for debits and sales, the cycles of the Cleveland, Chicago, New York, and San Francisco districts showed a distinctly closer relationship to national cycles than in the case of the other districts; the cycles of the Philadelphia, Boston, Atlanta, St. Louis, and Dallas districts showed mostly fair (Philadelphia high in debits) relationship to national cycles; while the cycles of the Richmond, Kansas City, and Minneapolis districts showed the lowest relationship. The Minneapolis district had a distinctly lower relationship to national cycles than any of the other districts.

A comparison of the measures of amplitude and the measures of correspondence in regional and national patterns indicates that there is little, if any, relationship between them. The major factors associated with variations in regional amplitude are apparently quite different from those associated with variations in pattern.

Inasmuch as business cycles are closely related to industrial activity, it might be anticipated that the degree of industrialization of an area, regardless of its industrial and agricultural diversification, would have some relationship to the divergence of its cyclical pattern from the national cyclical pattern. To test this supposition, value added per capita and the percentage of wage earners in total population (last two columns in Table 2), based on manufacturing statistics for 1929 and population in 1930, were selected. These are probably the most satisfactory measures of the degree of industrialization obtainable by districts. A study of the relationships between these measures and the coefficients of similarity for debits and sales, by federal reserve districts, appears to indicate that there is some basis for stating that in the period under study regional cyclical patterns tended to conform more closely to national cyclical patterns in highly industrialized than in less industrialized districts. More significant variations from national cycles generally occurred in predominately agricultural areas than in predominately industrial areas. The cycles of the Minneapolis district, a distinctly agricultural region, showed the greatest differences from national cycles.

The degree of industrial and agricultural diversification

of a region, as well as its economic balance between industry and agriculture, appears to be a factor of importance in explaining regional variations in pattern.<sup>7</sup> Regions whose economic diversification is similar to that for the country as a whole are likely to have patterns which conform closely to those for the United States. This is undoubtedly an important factor in explaining the close correspondence between the cycles for the Chicago, Cleveland, New York, and San Francisco districts and the cycles for the United States. The first three of these districts are also more highly industrialized than the country as a whole. The Philadelphia district, an industrialized area with considerable diversification of economic activities, has a high coefficient of similarity for bank debits, but a relatively low coefficient for department store sales. On the other hand, the Minneapolis and Kansas City districts, important agricultural areas without unusually wide diversification of activity, showed relatively low correspondence to national cyclical patterns. The Richmond district, which has some rapidly developing industries, also has a relatively low coefficient of similarity. This district, however, is still more of an agricultural than an industrial area; its per capita value added by manufacture and per cent of wage earners in total population are lower than those for the country as a whole.

The coefficients of similarity for the St. Louis, Dallas, Atlanta, and Boston districts stand between the lowest and the highest coefficients. Except for the Boston district, these are important agricultural areas with developing industries. Though the Boston district is one of the most highly industrialized districts in the country, it has a considerable concentration in the type of industrial activity which may account for the divergence of its cycles from national cycles.

#### SUMMARY

The analysis of the variations in the time sequences of the regional cycles indicates that cyclical peaks and troughs were reached at approximately the same time in various parts of the country in 1919-1931, though there appears to be some tendency for parts of the central west to precede, or at least not to follow, the rest of the United States.

Unlike time sequence, amplitude and pattern show varia-

<sup>7</sup>See John H. Cover, "The Significance of Regional Business Analysis," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Supplement, XXIV (1929), pp. 152-153; Matthews and Eckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-147.

tion from region to region. Excepting for a low amplitude in the Kansas City federal reserve district, cyclical amplitudes had a tendency to be lower in the eastern states than in the rest of the country. In general, cyclical patterns in the eastern (excepting New England), central, and far western states had a closer similarity to the national cyclical pattern than the cyclical patterns in the New England, southern, and western (excepting the far west) states.

Indexes of national business activity cover regions which have different degrees of industrialization and of industrial and agricultural diversification and which contain industries with varying rates of growth or decline. These factors were found to be of significance in explaining the divergence from national cycles. The differences found to exist between regional and national cycles make it desirable to study regional business activity apart from national activity as well as in relation to it.

## ECONOMICS OF SOUTHERN AGRICULTURAL LABOR

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The problem of agricultural labor in the South is of increasing interest, not only because of a fluctuating agricultural economy, but also due to expanding industrialization which demands a labor supply and will compete with farmers for it. The logical divisions of the problem for purposes of economic study are (1) the influences back of the demand for agricultural labor, and (2) the forces determining the supply of such labor. It is in these two aspects and the analysis of them that we will find the more useful explanation of the situation, and about which economic law and adjustments exert their influences.

To make such a beginning of course will draw an immediate cry of "ignoring important human values" from those who represent the human welfare interests of labor. This, no doubt, is true, but some evidences will be offered to show that competitive adjustment may have done better by agricultural labor than imposed adjustments, or that resident employers may have a more sympathetic attitude toward laborers than that evidenced by absentee social planners.

There is the plea that labor as a factor of production cannot be dealt with in competitive society because of its human attributes. This plea is greatly weakened when a comparison is made concerning the effects of the other factors of production upon human well-being. Certainly capital and management are directly or indirectly influencing human welfare just the same as labor directly influences it. Until it is shown that changes in returns to capital and management or the regard in which each is held are not reflected ultimately in human welfare, I see little need to pay heed to the outcry that with labor it is different. One does not find a high degree of unison in the opinions of those who would solve the problems of labor, as this paper shows. We should keep the fact in mind that the laborer has a right to a point of view as well as employer, public official, or others. Until the measures of human welfare are more scientifically set forth, I prefer to deal with available statistical material.

### THE AGRICULTURAL LABOR SUPPLY

In the South the agricultural labor supply is drawn largely from four groups: (1) the croppers, (2) wage

laborers, either regular or seasonal, (3) tenants, either closely supervised or free operators, and (4) owners and part-owners who engage in manual labor as well as management. The family labor of each group is, of course, included. For brevity this paper will treat them collectively as a source of labor supply, with minor reference to the individual groups of croppers, wage laborers, and tenants. Individuals in these tenure groups often shift quickly and easily from one status to another, but remain a part of the labor supply at the same time. The small owners and part-owners, while usually not mentioned as laborers, cannot be left out entirely because we find that some from this group actually shift out of their ownership category and into a laborer or tenant status when economic change occurs.<sup>1</sup>

These groups comprise the supply of agricultural labor. It is very important to remember that variations in supply may be brought about (1) by changes in the numbers of such persons employed and (2) by the amount of work done on the average by each person. Quite wide changes in the supply of labor may be made without noticeable changes in the number of workers because each person may have more leisure time. Since the groups are always changing, it is almost impossible to treat the supply of each separately. Rather it is necessary to treat the general conditions affecting the supply of labor and then prorate the effect to the different groups as the data and supposition indicate.

#### THE DEMAND FOR AGRICULTURAL LABOR

Three important sources make up the bulk of the demand for agricultural labor. Most important for our purpose is that originating with farmers who, as employers, seek wage hands, croppers, or tenants in order to operate their lands and maximize present and prospective labor and management earnings for themselves. To this demand we must add that of industry. Finally, and of considerable importance, is the demand offered by various governmental agencies for the conduct of public works or for the perpetuation of public relief. No one will doubt that wages offered by employers in lumber and oil production, fishing, trapping, manufacturing, highway construction, public services, or for relief, consti-

<sup>1</sup>For specific instances of change see the study by C. Horace Hamilton, *The Relation of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration Program to Rural Relief Needs*, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station.

tute demands for agricultural labor just the same as that offered by farmers. This is apparent already in the southeastern states. Perhaps these alternatives in the demand situation have been greatly minimized when the problem has been treated from the public point of view. If the whole problem is considered, then the sources of demand, whatever they are, cannot escape us. A person employed on relief work is just as much a factor in the labor situation as one employed on a farm. The employer who can offer the best attractions for the laborer stands in a better position to get the supply, and the laborer should have the right to choose from the alternatives available. In an upland area of Louisiana when farmers were offering 50 cents per eight-hour day, 6 days per week, for farm labor, the relief agency was paying \$1.50 per day of six hours, 2 days per week, and of course got the labor.

This paper will be confined largely to demand as evidenced by changes in agriculture. It is impossible to ignore completely, however, these other agencies, and account properly for the changes that manifest themselves from time to time. Many people returned to the rural areas, not as additional laborers, croppers, or tenants, but as unemployed urban workers. Some of these re-entered urban employment when recovery set in. Our major problem then involves a continuous balancing of total demand over and against total supply and determining at different times which side carries the greater force.

Time permits only one breakdown of the demand situation, namely, how the demand for or the displacement of such labor on farms is influenced by size of farm. The argument is over family farms in contrast to farms of larger sizes on which there is more hired labor, croppers, and tenants. Since there is considerable difference in current conclusions on this point, it may be attacked with further analysis and facts. Perhaps the wage laborers, croppers, and tenants, and the employers have all been greatly misrepresented in many interpretations made in the interest of broad social planning.

#### TRENDS IN DEMAND

For a number of years the Division of Crop and Livestock Estimates, U. S. D. A., has been obtaining data dealing with

the farm labor demand and supply.<sup>2</sup> Let us examine these data first. The demand is given as a per cent of normal and reported quarterly by states. We may assume this refers specifically to wage laborers. It may be further assumed that the shift between wage laborers and croppers is primarily one of advantage in relative bargaining positions of employer and laborer with advantage first in one's favor and then in the other's. Also, the demand for labor is broad and covers all labor, the particular way in which that labor shall work—whether cropper, wage hand, or tenant is a specific thing. Since the South is not a uniform area, the states have been grouped into three sections for purposes of the discussion which follows. In Section 1 are North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; in Section 2, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee; and in Section 3, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas. These areas are designated hereafter as the southeast, middle south, and southwest, respectively. The data indicate clearly that agricultural conditions have not been the same in all three, and any attempt to treat the South as a unit and explain the results with similar factual material may be misleading.

Two periods of the year are particularly good indicators of the demand for labor in so far as agriculture in the cotton belt is concerned; namely, April 1 for crop production and October 1 for crop harvesting. If a farmer is going to operate in a given year, his plans will be made and work started usually by April 1 at least. Therefore his labor needs then will be evident. Again, in the fall at harvesting time there is another key period for labor demand, so that by October 1 the demand for labor in response to the size and distribution of the cotton crop is fully in force. The intervening periods of January 1 and July 1 may indicate the relative strength of demand in between these key periods.<sup>3</sup> January 1 is an

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<sup>2</sup>The data on farm labor demand, per cent of normal, and farm labor supply, per cent of normal, are available for the months of January and July from 1930 to date, for April from 1926 to date and for October from 1929 to date.

<sup>3</sup>In this connection it is most unfortunate that the Census shifted the date for enumeration in 1934 to January 1 after having taken it on April 1 in 1930. It has been quite embarrassing for those who have used the Census as the basis for measuring the change in tenants and croppers between the two periods.

unstable period and is lowest in the seasonal variation because it is the time at which the laborers move from one farm to another, or become displaced and unattached. Also, arrangements for labor are usually not entirely completed until after January 1.

The price of cotton and prospective net farm income are important factors in the labor demand situation along with physical acreage and production change. In fact, they may be more important because of their influence in connection with the pressure against the operator to substitute hired labor for his own or family labor during periods of "good times", and to bring his family and himself more rigorously into the labor force during "hard times."

Changes in demand, indicating the behavior since 1926, for April, and since 1929 for October, are given in Table 1. In the southeast the highest point in demand was reached in 1928 at 90, after which a decline set in that carried it as low as 64 in 1932 and early 1933. Rapid recovery in the index of demand for this area started in 1933 and continued until it reached 91 in 1937, the highest peak since 1926. In the middle south there was a gradual decline in demand from as early as the large crop of 1926 until early 1933, when the trend reversed and climbed back to the 1928 level of 91 by 1937. Clearly these two sections show a remarkably similar trend that followed agricultural depression and recovery more closely throughout than they did the fluctuations in cotton acreage and production. Also the recovery in demand since April, 1933, is somewhat surprising in view of the emphasis placed upon the retarding influence brought about by the AAA programs.

The southwest shows some marked departures in trend from the other two sections. Starting in 1926 from about the same level, demand in the southwest fell to 54 per cent of normal in early 1933. This was 10 percentage points below the other sections. The recovery, *except for an actual relapse in 1934 and early 1935*, has been steadily upward but had only reached 79 by 1937. This was 12 percentage points below the others. It is quite definite that the demand situation in the southwest has been much weaker than elsewhere in the cotton area. Further analysis will clear up materially

the causes for this marked difference particularly in recent years.

TABLE 1  
FARM LABOR DEMAND, PER CENT OF NORMAL\*

| Year    | Southeast | Middle South | Southwest |
|---------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| APRIL   |           |              |           |
| 1926    | 89        | 92           | 91        |
| 1927    | 87        | 89           | 85        |
| 1928    | 90        | 91           | 84        |
| 1929    | 89        | 90           | 89        |
| 1930    | 83        | 87           | 81        |
| 1931    | 73        | 71           | 61        |
| 1932    | 64        | 65           | 58        |
| 1933    | 64        | 64           | 54        |
| 1934    | 73        | 74           | 64        |
| 1935    | 81        | 78           | 64        |
| 1936    | 84        | 83           | 73        |
| 1937    | 91        | 91           | 79        |
| 1938    | 83        | 84           | 77        |
| OCTOBER |           |              |           |
| 1929    | 84        | 86           | 81        |
| 1930    | 75        | 70           | 57        |
| 1931    | 70        | 67           | 70        |
| 1932    | 62        | 61           | 60        |
| 1933    | 73        | 69           | 66        |
| 1934    | 77        | 72           | 56        |
| 1935    | 82        | 76           | 70        |
| 1936    | 86        | 90           | 80        |

\**Crops and Markets*, United States Department of Agriculture

#### TRENDS IN SUPPLY

Let us next consider the trends in the supply of agricultural labor, i. e., the extent to which laborers have been available in the cotton area. On the basis of April 1 estimates, Table 2, there was a gradual increase in the supply of agricultural labor as a per cent of normal in the southeast from 1926 throughout 1932. The supply stood at its highest peak of 115 in January 1933 and then declined sharply later in 1933, and gradually thereafter until it reached 86 per cent of normal in January, 1938, or very close to the pre-depression level.

The supply situation in the middle south developed along a pattern very similar to that for the southeast, differing mainly in the more rapid increase during 1931 and 1932. The highest peak was reached in January 1932 at 119 per cent. The sharp decline in 1933 follows precisely that of the southeast, and the behavior after 1933 indicates a gradual falling away of excessive labor, though with a relatively larger supply present at all times than prevailed along the

seaboard.

Again, the southwest shows some peculiar and significant departures from the trends in labor supply shown for the other two sections. There was little change in the supply situation between April, 1926, and April, 1929. During this period the supply as a per cent of normal in the southwest was practically identical with that of the South as a whole. With the rapid inroads of depression following 1929, the supply rose much more abruptly and to a higher level in the southwest, but maintained about the same seasonal fluctuations as reported for the other sections. The peak was reached in April, 1933, at 125. Following this, it fell to 109 by October of that year, but made no further decline during the ensuing year, following which the downward trend resumed its movement. The divergent trend of labor supply in the southwest in 1934 is quite contrary to that of the other areas.

Clearly from both demand and supply trends, the factors that are influential are (1) the economic conditions which give rise to the upward and downward sweeps of depression and recovery; (2) the forces that pitch the level of fluctuations; and (3) the abrupt changes or departures of which

TABLE 2

## FARM LABOR SUPPLY, PER CENT OF NORMAL\*

| Year           | Southeast | Middle South | Southwest |
|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| <b>APRIL</b>   |           |              |           |
| 1926           | 80        | 85           | 91        |
| 1927           | 83        | 88           | 90        |
| 1928           | 89        | 90           | 95        |
| 1929           | 91        | 90           | 91        |
| 1930           | 96        | 96           | 98        |
| 1931           | 106       | 109          | 113       |
| 1932           | 112       | 118          | 121       |
| 1933           | 112       | 114          | 125       |
| 1934           | 95        | 99           | 106       |
| 1935           | 93        | 95           | 103       |
| 1936           | 90        | 91           | 98        |
| 1937           | 81        | 86           | 92        |
| 1938           | 88        | 89           | 91        |
| <b>OCTOBER</b> |           |              |           |
| 1929           | 88        | 88           | 93        |
| 1930           | 96        | 102          | 111       |
| 1931           | 106       | 111          | 108       |
| 1932           | 112       | 114          | 118       |
| 1933           | 99        | 104          | 109       |
| 1934           | 95        | 95           | 110       |
| 1935           | 89        | 93           | 100       |
| 1936           | 84        | 84           | 90        |

\*Crops and Markets, United States Department of Agriculture

the most important is that occurring in the southwest. One thing is quite certain—these data do not tell one where the AAA activities began, in so far as they destroyed the demand for labor or created an excessive labor supply.

PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF CHANGES  
IN COTTON ACREAGE AND PRODUCTION

These demand and supply changes are only the first step in our labor problem. The next is an explanation of why the demand and supply should change. This we may now undertake. A very controversial problem since the advent of the AAA has been its effects upon physical production and subsequently upon the demand for labor. That much has been unexplained prompts one to call up for consideration some of the vital physical changes in cotton acreage and production and examine them in the light of the actual data and the validity of subsequent interpretations.

What interpretation is to be made of the trends in cotton acreage in cultivation July 1, by sections, as presented in Table 3?<sup>4</sup> The sharp declines in acreage in both the southeast and the southwest between 1930 and 1932 stand out clearly. Undoubtedly this change in acreage was due to depression and it resulted in some curtailments in the demand

TABLE 3  
INDEX OF COTTON IN CULTIVATION JULY 1\*  
(1929 = 100)

| Year | Southeast | Middle South | Southwest |
|------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| 1926 | 109       | 95           | 105       |
| 1927 | 96        | 84           | 90        |
| 1928 | 103       | 98           | 100       |
| 1929 | 100       | 100          | 100       |
| 1930 | 97        | 102          | 97        |
| 1931 | 84        | 95           | 86        |
| 1932 | 70        | 88           | 76        |
| 1933 | 75        | 90           | 89        |
| 1934 | 55        | 59           | 60        |
| 1935 | 56        | 62           | 58        |
| 1936 | 59        | 68           | 65        |
| 1937 | 67        | 76           | 70        |

\*Yearbook, United States Department of Agriculture

<sup>4</sup>The data used are those issued in *Crops and Markets*, and *Yearbooks*, United States Department of Agriculture.

for labor. Also, all sections reported increased cotton acreages in 1933 over 1932, and particularly the sharp increase in the southwest is important when relating the demand for labor to acreage adjustment. Drastic declines in acreage occurred in all three sections for the 1934 crop. At this point some careful examinations of acreage changes should be made in order to separate change in acreage under depression from that made under recovery.

The decline between 1933 and 1934 was less in total for the southeast than what had occurred in the combined two years 1931 and 1932 (97 to 70 vs 75 to 55). The decline was 27 points through 1932, 15 points from 1932 to the low of 1934, and 20 points from the high of 1933 to the low of 1934. For the middle south, the decline between 1930 and 1932 was slight (102 to 88), but most severe of all sections between 1933 and 1934 (90 to 59). The decline was 14 points through 1932, 29 points from 1932 to the low of 1934, and 31 points from the high of 1933 to the low of 1934. The change in the southwest was slightly greater between 1933 and 1934 than occurred between 1930 and 1932 (97 to 76 vs 89 to 60). For a total drop from 97 to 60, of 37 points, 21 occurred up to 1932 and 16 points between the low of 1932 and the low of 1934. The decline from the high of 1933 to the low of 1934 was 29 points. If changes in the cotton acreage in cultivation July 1 influenced the demand for labor, then a decline at one time should have some effect if a decline at another time is assumed to have an effect. An assumption that the demand for labor did not change between 1930 and 1932 due to a drop in cotton acreage is weak, because 52 per cent of the total decrease in the southeast was before 1934, 28 per cent in the middle south, and 22 per cent in the southwest.<sup>5</sup>

Let us next examine the production of cotton as a possible influence upon the demand for agricultural labor. The influences upon labor demand that may be attributed to acreage change and production change are not identical due to the influence of yield per acre. The trend in cotton production

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<sup>5</sup>If the change is measured from the peak of 1930 to the low of 1932 compared to the further decline from 1932 to 1934 the corresponding percentages would be 68, 33, and 57. The writer, however, feels the peaks reached in 1933 represent the points from which the 1934 control program forced the decline.

by sections is given in Table 4. The production was up sharply in 1931 even with lower acreage, particularly in the southwest. But in 1932 both acreage and production were markedly down to the lowest point since 1926. Thus any measures used to determine the influence upon the demand for labor have as a starting point in cotton production the relatively low position that was reached by the close of 1932.

In 1933 the plow-up reduced the harvested cotton acreage. But what is more important from the production standpoint is that, compared to the previous year, 1932, the final production was still estimated at 10 percentage points higher in the southeast, five percentage points lower in the southwest, and one percentage point lower in the middle south. The argument about running off laborers and croppers after the plow up, because of the reduction in cotton, should be explained by some cause other than cotton production together with the added labor required to plow under the surplus cotton plants. There was still practically as much cotton to be picked as in the preceding year. The employers had much better income prospects already at hand with which to pay labor. In addition, labor costs were relatively low, and the cotton to be picked had nearly twice the market value of the previous year.

Nor can the argument gain much weight the next year, 1934, except in the southwest which was affected relatively more by drought than by acreage reduction in contrast to the other sections. Whereas the acreage in 1934 compared to

TABLE 4  
INDEX OF COTTON PRODUCTION\*  
(1929 = 100)

| Year | Southeast | Middle South | Southwest |
|------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| 1926 | 127       | 102          | 133       |
| 1927 | 92        | 77           | 95        |
| 1928 | 89        | 80           | 112       |
| 1929 | 100       | 100          | 100       |
| 1930 | 115       | 88           | 88        |
| 1931 | 108       | 100          | 128       |
| 1932 | 76        | 69           | 103       |
| 1933 | 86        | 68           | 98        |
| 1934 | 78        | 66           | 56        |
| 1935 | 81        | 70           | 67        |
| 1936 | 87        | 92           | 72        |
| 1937 | 113       | 129          | 122       |

\*Yearbook, United States Department of Agriculture

1929 was 55, 59, and 60 per cent in the southeast, middle south, and the southwest, respectively, the cotton production was 78 per cent in the southeast, 66 per cent in the middle south, and 56 percent in the southwest. In the middle south the decrease in production in 1934 over 1933 was only two percentage points; in the southeast the drop was eight percentage points. Compared to 1932 the southeast was two percentage points higher in cotton production in 1934, and the middle south was three percentage points lower. In these two areas the severe loss suffered by laborers, croppers, and tenants due to reduced cotton production in 1934 over 1932 was due, if at all, to the decline in cotton acreage, or the distribution of acreage among farms, or to something else. Certainly it was not due in any great degree to the change in cotton production unless the data on cotton production in these sections are not according to facts.

Not true at all is this for the southwest with a drop in cotton production of 42 percentage points, 98 in 1933 (1929 = 100) to 56 in 1934, all of which was in the three states of Oklahoma (from 1,266,000 bales to 317,000, or 75 percent), Texas (from 4,428,000 to 2,406,000 bales, or 46 per cent) and Arkansas (from 1,041,000 to 867,000, or 17 per cent). Production in Louisiana actually gained in this sharpest year of reduction and the gain was relatively greater in the delta areas, which have the largest supply of wage and cropper labor. Compared to 1932 the production in 1934 in this section was 47 percentage points lower, indicating a very drastic reduction even from the point reached at the bottom of the depression.

We may conclude from this analysis that the demand for labor based upon the production of cotton should have occurred mostly prior to 1933 for the southeast and the middle south since production in those areas was practically no lower in 1934 than in 1932, and was actually higher in 1933 than in 1932. The heavy decline in the demand for labor in Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas in 1934 was due, both to the effects of the AAA cotton program and to the severe drought in these states. A careful analysis of the facts brings out the importance of the drought as an independent factor in the change. The next most serious decline in production was in Georgia of the southeastern section with a decline of 12 per cent be-

tween 1933 and 1934 (1,105,000 bales to 968,000), due to a change in yield per acre rather than to the acreage.

#### CHANGES IN GROSS INCOME FROM FARM PRODUCTION AND BENEFIT PAYMENTS AS AN INDICATOR OF DEMAND

There is another point to the demand situation which logically follows. The hire of laborers, or the addition of croppers and tenants by the employer is conditioned upon present or prospective profitableness, and not upon the supply of labor available. Farm operators probably enjoy some leisure just the same as that so highly prized by their laborers and croppers. When serious retrenchment in income occurs many farmers begin to do the farming themselves or bring their families into fuller use, and likewise, they retire from such heavy labor when incomes return to larger proportions again. Thus, we find in the fluctuations of gross income from farm production and benefit payments an additional indicator of the labor demand. The trends for the period since 1925, by sections, are presented in Table 5. Little difference

TABLE 5

INDEX OF GROSS INCOME FROM FARM PRODUCTION AND  
BENEFIT PAYMENTS, 1925 TO 1935\*  
(1929 = 100)

| Year | Southeast | Middle South | Southwest |
|------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| 1925 | 118       | 113          | 105       |
| 1926 | 111       | 94           | 98        |
| 1927 | 116       | 100          | 104       |
| 1928 | 108       | 97           | 108       |
| 1929 | 100       | 100          | 100       |
| 1930 | 80        | 68           | 67        |
| 1931 | 55        | 52           | 54        |
| 1932 | 44        | 41           | 44        |
| 1933 | 68        | 54           | 60        |
| 1934 | 61        | 64           | 59        |
| 1935 | 88        | 70           | 69        |

\*Division of Crop and Livestock Estimates, United States Department of Agriculture

occurred in the behavior of the trends in the three sections. They all follow closely the depression and recovery pattern. The southeast showed a relatively higher level in the middle twenties, held up better in the early stage of depression, and recovered more rapidly and to a relatively higher level since 1932. The middle south indicates the weakest position, being lower in the twenties, falling to the lowest level in the worst

of the depression, and maintaining a middle position in the recovery. The trend in the southwest is more changeable than that of the other two sections. The relatively higher position in 1931 and 1932 is undoubtedly due to the very large cotton crops of those two years in contrast to the rest of the cotton belt. There is a marked departure after 1933 which coincides with the drought and subsequent low cotton output in 1934. The gross income in the southwest actually declined from 60 percent of the 1929 level in 1933 to 59 per cent in 1934, while the other areas were making gains of 10 and 13 per cent for the middle south and the southeast, respectively. From this it is evident that financial reverses, lack of credit, foreclosures, and other obstacles worked to the detriment of owners by forcing some of them to a lower tenure status. It reduced the demand for wage hands, either forcing them into a tenant status or unemployment, and croppers and tenants were confronted with possible loss of land on which to operate through financial weakness of their landlords. On the brighter side is that occurring in the recovery after April 1933, when demands for labor improved greatly and general economic security became well established among owners, tenants, and laborers. Also, real estate improvements and the shifting of work to the laboring classes reappeared, so that marked gains from the troublesome period of the bank holiday existed in spite of any deterring effects that may be attributed to the production control policies.

Clearly there is nothing in the data to indicate that the demand for agricultural labor was weakened at any time after early 1933 so that it fell below the level existing at that time. The argument must be in an appraisal of the recovery that did take place in contrast to what might have taken place under other conditions.

#### TREND IN WAGES FOR HIRED LABOR

Another factor that may be examined and which indicates quickly the adjustment in the demand and supply of farm labor is the wages paid to hired labor.<sup>6</sup> Probably the most

<sup>6</sup>Lest there be some doubt about the extent to which hired labor is a factor in the labor situation, the figures taken from the U. S. Census Report for 1929 show that the cost of hired labor per bale in some important plantation areas in Louisiana was as follows: Madison, \$8.12 (\$135,003); East Carroll, \$3.35 (\$113,915); Concordia, \$3.95 (\$41,621); Red River, \$2.22 (\$61,412); Tensas, \$7.60 (\$188,913); West Carroll, \$0.84 (\$15,788).

common method of hire is by the day without board. Using this as the basis and breaking the data into the sections previously reported, it is possible to see what the general trend in wages has been and to what extent there is similarity in sectional wage movements. The trends are given in Table 6.

Wage rates in the southeast apparently held up better during the late twenties, due probably to the competitive position of that area in the production of tobacco and cotton and industrial demands for labor, while the southwest showed more resistance to wage declines in the depth of the depression due in part to favorable cotton crops. There is a clear indication of the sharp recovery in wages beginning in April, 1933, and continuing until April, 1934. At that time there was an actual recession in the southwest and practically stability in the other areas, most of which was due to the AAA cotton program. Since July, 1934, there has been a slow but con-

TABLE 6  
AVERAGE WAGES PAID TO HIRED FARM LABOR\*  
(PER DAY WITHOUT BOARD)  
(1929 = 100)

| Year    | Southeast | Middle South | Southwest |
|---------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| APRIL   |           |              |           |
| 1926    | 106       | 99           | 102       |
| 1927    | 105       | 100          | 102       |
| 1928    | 105       | 99           | 99        |
| 1929    | 100       | 100          | 100       |
| 1930    | 93        | 96           | 96        |
| 1931    | 70        | 67           | 71        |
| 1932    | 49        | 49           | 56        |
| 1933    | 41        | 40           | 47        |
| 1934    | 57        | 54           | 58        |
| 1935    | 58        | 58           | 60        |
| 1936    | 61        | 58           | 61        |
| 1937    | 67        | 62           | 66        |
| 1938    | 66        | 62           | 69        |
| OCTOBER |           |              |           |
| 1926    | 109       | 108          | 111       |
| 1927    | 103       | 102          | 102       |
| 1928    | 103       | 101          | 100       |
| 1929    | 100       | 100          | 100       |
| 1930    | 83        | 79           | 81        |
| 1931    | 59        | 58           | 61        |
| 1932    | 46        | 45           | 48        |
| 1933    | 53        | 52           | 55        |
| 1934    | 60        | 55           | 56        |
| 1935    | 60        | 58           | 59        |
| 1936    | 64        | 65           | 65        |
| 1937    | 70        | 70           | 71        |

\*Crops and Markets, United States Department of Agriculture.

stantly advancing trend for wages in all sections until January, 1938, when wages turned down sharply from the highest recent peak reached in October, 1937.

The wage trend indicates that there was a gradual downward drift in demand relative to supply since late in 1926, and a drastic decline following the crop of 1929, that continued until the first quarter of 1933. Since then, demand improved sharply until the first part of 1934 and has continued gradually upward since that time.

#### HOW WERE THESE CHANGES INFLUENCED BY SIZE OF FARM?

Let us next consider some evidences bearing on the total changes as they are influenced by size of farm. The findings and conclusions of others are of interest. Woofter and Others concluded from their study of cotton plantations that "Displacement of cotton tenants seems to have taken place largely from small farming units rather than from plantations."<sup>7</sup> Further interesting remarks from their study are "The 40 counties included in this study of plantations show. . .that there were 7 per cent fewer tenants in these counties in 1935 than in 1930. However, the number of families on plantations included in the study *increased* from 1930 to 1935 by approximately 8 per cent. In only two areas, Red River and Arkansas River, was there a slight decrease. *For the most part the increase was distributed fairly evenly over the 5-year period . . .the greatest increases in the number of plantation families occurred in the wage hand and renter groups.*"<sup>8</sup> Of further interest to the problem is a study in 1934 of 825 displaced tenants in eastern North Carolina by Blackwell and quoted in the Woofter report as follows: "Very few of the families included in this study had been displaced before 1929. *Three-fifths had lost farm operator status during the years 1929 to 1932.* In 1933 the number of displacements decreased sharply, only to rise again slightly in 1934. The years 1931 and 1932 constituted the peak period."<sup>9</sup>

The results of these studies indicate exactly what might be expected from the previous discussion of changes in physical production and economic welfare. Also, it takes much of the

<sup>7</sup>T. J. Woofter, Jr. and Others, *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph V, p. 157, 1936.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 155.

sharpness off the attack on the AAA and the cotton plantations as factors in the confusing labor situation.

Another statistical study lending insight into the problem of change in labor is that by Hamilton in which he shows for selected North Carolina areas that labor was relatively unwanted in the period 1931-1932 as indicated by the tendency for tenure groups to shift "down the ladder" at that time.<sup>10</sup> Convincing also are his data showing how the tenure groups moved "up the ladder" in 1934-1935. It is necessary when comparing changes in laborers, croppers, and tenants between 1930 and 1935 to include the net change of these, either into or out of the owner and part-owner groups during the interval. Hamilton indicates how the depression shifted owners into the tenant, cropper, or laborer groups, but the data show that relatively more moved out of these groups into ownership during the period of recovery.

A very different method of approach has been used by Frey and Smith, and the results likewise are at variance with the studies just cited.<sup>11</sup> They begin with an answer derived from an analysis of Census data for selected cotton counties, and then build up a series of assumptions using entirely the method of deductive logic to explain the data presented. Their main point is to show that displacement took place only after 1933 and the dominant reason offered is the program of the AAA and its effect upon cotton acreage and production. The connection between the data offered and the build-up of reasons is not entirely clear. For example, a very important assumption is "With the price of their product so very low, individual planters had tried to meet fixed costs by increasing the volume of production. This meant there could be no slackening in the demand for families of laborers."<sup>12</sup> Since fixed costs were relatively higher on small farms than on large ones, the small farms should have increased too. Usually planters try to reduce both operating and fixed costs during adversity. The two studies first cited certainly do not support a theory of

<sup>10</sup>C. Horace Hamilton, *The Relation of the Agricultural Adjustment Program to Rural Relief Needs*, Preliminary Summary Report (mimeographed), North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station.

<sup>11</sup>Fred C. Frey and T. Lynn Smith, "The Influence of the AAA Cotton Program Upon the Tenant, Cropper and Laborer," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1936.

<sup>12</sup>Frey, F. C., and Smith, T. Lynn, op. cit., p. 488.

increased demand for laborers. It was possible to keep the labor supply and reduce cotton production, too, in the interest of more profitable operation for the plantation employer. A study now in progress by Porter shows quite conclusively for some Louisiana areas that the decline in cotton acreage planted began first on the largest tracts as a group and practically without exception included the next size groups in succession as the depression continued.<sup>13</sup> This seems to be largely independent of delta and upland areas. It is much less positive for the farms with tenants and croppers than for those with no tenants and croppers but with hired or family labor. Also, my own study of a few identical upland farms shows that the larger units made the heaviest decreases in cotton acreage between 1931 and 1933. It is a much better probability that farmers as a group were forced to decrease cotton acreage because of high operating costs and financial difficulties rather than by overhead costs.

Other points in the labor picture are that "There are few people gullible enough to believe that the acreage devoted to cotton can be reduced one-third without an accompanying decrease in the laborers engaged in its production", and to avoid explaining a labor demand loss prior to 1933 because "from 1930 to 1933 was a period when production of cotton was very great" and "planters were caught with relatively high. . . costs," and "in the struggle to meet expenses, they tried to recoup part of their losses, . . . by producing more cotton" so that "in all probability these manual laborers increased considerably between 1930 and 1933. Thus we may be sure that the comparison of the Census data for 1930 with those for 1935 for the purpose of determining displacement of tenants and croppers from 1933 to 1935 is conservative procedure."<sup>14</sup>

Much acreage reduction occurred prior to 1933. The relatively high maintenance of production was a function of weather rather than of farmers. Since curtailment occurred before 1933 as well as afterward, it appears logical that the

<sup>13</sup>Horace G. Porter, Unpublished material being prepared for M. S. Thesis, Louisiana State University.

<sup>14</sup>Frey, F. C., and Smith, T. Lynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 489, 490, 491. In Table 1, page 498, it is shown that the three states of Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, with 27.4 per cent of the croppers, had 52.5 per cent of the decrease in number between 1930 and 1935.

change in labor demand was distributed in the same way if the correlation between the two is significant. A better point would be that, if incomes decline, even with the same production, the effective demand for hired labor will at first be reduced. This seems to be in line with what actually happened. Neither data nor logic support the idea that the demand for farm labor in the cotton belt increased up to 1933 and then declined sharply until 1935.

In an analysis of changes in the number of owners, tenants and croppers between 1934 and 1935, Porter found that there was a reported increase of 1.3 per cent for all families. This involved over 9,000 families in five Louisiana areas. The total number of tenants and croppers increased one per cent (7,077 to 7,143), and was as high in the delta areas as in the upland and the small farm areas.<sup>15</sup> Admittedly the data and field of interpretation do not cover identical areas in these different studies of labor; but it is clearly apparent that there are wide differences in conclusions on the basic principles involved.

In conclusion, the collapse in agricultural prices and subsequent reaction upon farm incomes forced a reduction in wages and a loss in the demand for hired labor together with a curtailment of cotton acreage, particularly in 1931 and 1932. This change was accompanied by reduction and replacement of the hired laborers used. At the same time there was an increasing supply of farm labor due to the return of urban unemployed to the rural areas and those released from farming due to loss of farm labor demand. These two trends reversed their direction early in 1933 and except for a short time in 1934, have been moving steadily in the direction of stronger demand for hired labor and decreasing supply. The hesitation in 1934 appears as the result of AAA activities, unusual drought, and perhaps encroaching mechanization. The continued improvement after 1934 follows closely the advance in farm income, higher wages, expanding cotton production, and increased demand for farm labor. The sharp down turn in January, 1938, reflects in the labor market the collapse in cotton prices and faltering business following an unusually heavy demand for labor to handle the record-breaking cotton crop of 1937.

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<sup>15</sup>Porter, H. G., *op. cit.*

## DIFFERENTIAL REPRODUCTION RATES OF THE WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATIONS IN SELECTED AREAS OF THE SOUTH\*

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In our day of social planning, differentials in fertility by social, economic and geographic areas have become a subject of considerable interest and importance. Research on this subject has greatly increased and demographers have already produced a valuable body of scientific literature.

Political, economic and social effects of population changes, shifts and displacements of one group by another, present problems, applicable solutions for which still are lagging far behind the needs of our times. For the purpose of scientific social planning, many of the studies require further investigation and new data need to be brought together before they can be discussed more intelligently and definite conclusions can be drawn.

This study represents a comparison of several sets of birth rates in select Southern areas, namely: the Ozark mountaineers, and the tenant-farmer and share-cropper groups in the Red River Delta of Louisiana and Arkansas; the Mississippi Delta of Arkansas and Mississippi, and the Black and Cache Rivers Bottoms and Terraces of Arkansas.

There are serious and complicated statistical difficulties which must be overcome in making studies of differential fertility rates. But if these technical handicaps are surmountable, we can emerge with data which not only have an immediate demographic interest, but also contain potentialities for broader sociological implications—for instance, the birth rate may be regarded as one among several indices of assimilation, of adjustment to natural resources, or as giving evidence regarding the relation between population migrations and the

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\*The author is greatly indebted to Mr. Abe J. Jaffe, of the University of Chicago, for his valuable aid and assistance in working out and collection of these data. Acknowledgement is also due to Dr. Bernard D. Karpinos, United States Public Health Service, who furnished the author with data for the total, rural farm, rural non-farm, and urban populations. Parts of this paper were first presented in manuscript form at the April, 1939 meetings of the Southwestern Social Science Association in Dallas, Texas under the title, "Differential Fertility Rates by the Indirect Method."

stability of economic and physical environment which certain natural areas represent.

Because of a variety of technical statistical difficulties, the problem considered is much more complex than appears on the surface, and findings must be carefully qualified. By way of a general introduction, we shall examine some of the difficulties in detail. The difficulties encountered are due largely to deficiencies in the original statistical materials.

The growth of any population, as is well known, depends on two factors: births and deaths. These are functions of two variables, in that the birth rates depend on the fertility of a population and its age composition; and the death rates on the mortality rates plus the age composition of a population.

Even a cursory examination of the age composition of certain groups in the United States, such as given in Table 1, shows that age composition is of great importance when considering birth rates as well as death rates for certain groups and periods. Its proper analysis, therefore, throws considerable light on many points relative to the birth rates of such groups as are usually presented. Further, low fertility rates in our urban and some rural non-farm groups have resulted in a population structure quite different from that of the rural farm group. The former has a tendency to become top heavy and, unlike the past, old age is rapidly replacing youth in these groups. Table 1 on age composition of the white and Negro female populations in the United States in selected states and counties reveals this shift. In 1880, for example, the white female age distribution for the United States for the groups under 20, 20-40, 40-65, and 65 years and over was recorded. In terms of percentages these were 49:31:17:3; 1900 as 45:32:19:4; 1930 as 39:32:23:6. Here we notice that in the United States as a whole we are progressively increasing the number in our old age groupings, also are rapidly approaching the age composition of a stationary population.<sup>1</sup> Comparing, however, the total United States age grouping percentages with those found in some of the counties in our four southern states, we notice that in our sample, although the states follow the trend of the total United States population in the shifting

<sup>1</sup>Bernard D. Karpinos, "The Length of Time Required for the Stabilization of a Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1936. Also Dublin and Lotka, "On the True Rate of Natural Increase," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, September, 1935, pp. 329-333.

of the age composition of the age groupings quite closely, there are still a great number of counties which have a considerable concentration of their populations in the younger groups. In Mississippi and Lee counties, Arkansas, every other female of the white population is still under 20 years of age, the Negroes having a slightly lower ratio.

The excess of males over females among the various groups studied is also noteworthy. This disproportion in sex ratios and the heavy representation of females in the reproductive ages, especially in the years of maximum fertility, doubtless has a great influence on the percentage of females who are married. This factor, in turn will raise or lower the birth rate of such disproportionate groups considerably. Due to the complexity of some of these difficulties we shall, therefore, follow the problem through step by step. Only in this way shall we be able properly to appreciate and appraise our statistical materials and results.

One method of measuring the birth rate which has been repeatedly used in the past is the crude birth rate. Several other forms of this method of measuring births have also been employed, such as the ratios of children under 5, or 1, to women in the reproductive age groupings. However, most of these rates are obtained irrespective of the age distribution of women; consequently, growth per 1,000 total population, or 1,000 female population alone, will be greater or smaller, depending on the age distribution of these groups.<sup>2</sup>

For purposes of close comparison, therefore, mere increase in population has a deceptive appearance. Such birth rates in their refined forms, can be used as indices of increase or decrease in population only if all factors influencing the birth rate, such as age distribution, sex ratio, percentage married, mortality, etc., are held constant. The net and gross reproduction rates at present are considered the most accurate indices for the measurement of the increase or decrease of populations. Gross reproduction rates indicate how many children

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<sup>2</sup>We do not wish to state, however, that the crude birth rate, or other forms of measuring birth rates, such as ratio of children to women, have no value. Such birth rates, for instance, give us some sort of surface indication of variability and fluctuation in the births between counties, states or regions, especially if we know beforehand that the distributions by age, sex and other factors in their respective groups are somewhat the same, and where basic data for the computation of better rates are lacking.

would be born to 1,000 women passing through the child bearing period provided fertility remains constant, and if none of those 1,000 women died before reaching 45 years of age. Net reproduction rates take present mortality rates into consideration, and provided mortality rates remain constant, the net reproduction rates indicate how many children 1,000 women passing through the childbearing age will have to replace them in the next generation. A net reproduction rate of 1.00 means a zero rate of increase, or is indicative of the fact that a population has reached a stationary level and is replacing itself in each generation.

Using these indices we shall consider, therefore, birth rates wherever possible according to natural areas, such as the Ozark Mountain area, the Mississippi Delta, and the Red River Delta. Where statistics for the computation of such rates according to natural areas are not available we shall use census units, such as rural farm, rural non-farm, urban and cities.

The reasons for having selected areas by population types may be stated briefly. In the past we have viewed our national problems largely as political problems, confined to arbitrarily defined and delimited political units as used by the census. Fertility rates of various groups in the United States, however, are far from uniform and are associated with variations in residence, economic and social status, race, education, religious and other factors not limited or determined by political boundary lines. In social science research more and more we come to realize that many of our national problems cannot be dealt with in terms of units arbitrarily defined, but rather in terms of natural units, areas, or regions. This may give evidence regarding the relation between population growth, migration, and the stability of economic and physical environment which certain areas represent.

Due to census practice, data for needed computations are not readily available. To overcome this statistical difficulty we have singled out natural areas in Table 2, defined and qualified as carefully as census data permit.

The first natural area under consideration is the Ozark Mountain Area in the southern part of Missouri and the northwestern part of Arkansas. This area, with the exception of Barry county, Missouri, with a city of 4,000; and Benton county, Arkansas, with a city of 3,500, is typically rural. This is a fairly uniform area and its people, known as the Ozark

mountaineers, follow no specific type of agricultural occupation. Nearly 50 percent of the farm land is in pasture, farming being of a general nature, with very little cash grain, and some dairying. The highest income by source is from meat animals.

According to Tables 3 and 4 the gross reproduction rate for the whites in the Missouri area is 1.78, the Arkansas area 1.81; the net rates 1.56 and 1.60 respectively.<sup>3</sup> This group is still increasing its numbers at the rate of from 56 to 60 percent per generation, or at the rate of 2 percent per annum at the 1930 fertility and mortality rates.<sup>4</sup>

The next area studied is the Red River Delta in Louisiana. About 15 percent of the people included in our tabulations are classified as urban, however, none of the calculations for parishes in this area include cities with populations over 3,500. To what extent the factor of urbanization influences fertility in this area cannot be easily determined. However, 91 percent of the farms by type are cotton farms and approximately 78 percent of the income is derived from this source. For practical purposes we may consider this area to be entirely a cotton area, especially since, in order of importance, the next item listed by the census under source of income is dairying, which constitutes only 3 percent of the annual income. The gross reproduction rate in this rural cotton area for the Whites is 1.84, for Negroes 1.36; the net rate is 1.62 and 1.03 respectively.

In the Mississippi Delta of Arkansas and Mississippi, 80.7 to 84.3 percent of all farm units are cropper and share tenant units. Only 1 percent of the population in the eight Mississippi counties is urban. In this area 67 percent of the total land area is in farms, of which 8 percent is in pasture, 81 percent in crop lands, and 60 percent in cotton. Ninety-seven percent of farms by type are cotton farms and approximately 93 percent of the annual income is derived from cotton.

The gross reproduction rate of the white cotton farmers in the Mississippi Delta of Arkansas and the Black and Cache Rivers Bottoms and Terraces is 1.79; for the Negroes in the same area 1.32; the net rates 1.57 and 1.04 respectively.

<sup>3</sup>See methodological note.

<sup>4</sup>There are practically no Negroes living in this area, so their rates have been omitted.

The Mississippi Delta in Mississippi includes eight counties along the Mississippi river. Four of these counties are 100 percent rural, the whole area having an urban population of only 1 percent. Ninety-seven percent of all farms in this region are cotton farms and plantations. Of all farm operators as high as 77 percent of the Whites and 96 percent of the Negroes in this area are cropper and other non-cash tenants. In this area, according to the United States census, approximately 93 percent of all income is derived from cotton.

The gross and net reproduction rates for the Whites are 1.56 and 1.37 respectively. For the Negroes the gross reproduction rate .97.

In Table 5 we have a summary of results for the Southern areas studied. In addition to our own tabulations, we have added results obtained by Dr. Karpinos, who has worked out rates according to total state, rural farm and rural non-farm census classifications.

Due to the factor of better industrial opportunities in the Northern states, the decrease of our total white northern population to a point below the permanent replacement level and the increase of certain southern groups to a point considerably above the permanent replacement level, there has been an extensive migration of the southern people to the North.

This means that since the industrial system of the South has not been able to absorb an ever increasing population, it experiences a great loss in human resources. With the existing child labor laws, children are becoming more and more expensive and are an economic liability until the time when they have reached maturity and can start producing. It happens, however, that a great number of the young people, especially those better qualified and equipped from an educational standpoint, leave for the North and thus constitute a net loss to the South.

High prolificacy is usually associated with poverty and low cultural standards. The share-croppers, rural farm, and rural non-farm groups in the areas studied are the ones reproducing themselves at a higher rate than others. Consequently, there will be not only a quantitative change in our population, but also a qualitative change, since the population increase in these areas will not have come from our culturally more desirable

groups, but from those culturally isolated and backward, and economically poor.

With further mechanization of farming, the problem of those breeding irresponsibly will become even more acute, since there is no question but that the machine in the past few years has been a liability and is likely to continue to add to the economic problems of the South. The advent of the tractor and mass production of mechanical cotton pickers will mean a change in the status of the share-cropper to a day laborer; this will further complicate the already existing problem, "What to do with the surplus labor?" Will the North continue to be able to absorb the surplus population of the South? These and many related problems of interest to the demographer suggest themselves.

There seems to be no doubt but that some phases of a culture, due to proximity, are more contagious or lend themselves more easily to adoption than others. This might be true in regard to control of size of family by means of birth control. The very fact that the share-croppers and other groups in the South still have such very high birth rates might be due to cultural isolation and would seem to be indicative of the fact that their pattern of culture has been left largely undisturbed. At present, with inferior schooling, inaccessibility of things cultural, it might be expected that for some time to come these groups will continue to reproduce themselves at a faster rate than the economic resources of the South can adequately take care of.

*Methodological Note*—The procedure in computing fertility rates by the indirect method needs detailed explanation. The method of computation of gross and net reproduction rates by the direct method is well known.<sup>5</sup> Wherever the age of the mother at the time of birth of a female is known, fertility is measured by relating the number of female children born by mothers of a specific age group to the total female population of that age group. Thus fertility rates are obtained by age groups which serve as the basic material for a measurement of fertility as a whole, these being added up into one numerical expression, called gross reproduction rates. With a set of survival rates it is then very easy to compute the net reproduction rates.

Data for such computations, however, are not always available, especially if one wishes to consider differentiated areas or individual

<sup>5</sup>Robert R. Kuczynski, *The Balance of Births and Deaths*, Macmillan Company, 1928.

communities. As mentioned previously, most censuses do not publish the number of births by age of mother; others publish these data for large aggregates only and do not present breakdowns into, let us say, rural and urban areas, counties, or regions. There is nevertheless a simple way to solve this problem and thus obtain results which for our purposes will be satisfactory, though not quite so reliable—the indirect method of calculating fertility.

The method of computation is quite simple. In the United States the state is the smallest unit for which we are able to calculate specific quinquennial fertility rates by the direct method. Most of the censuses publish age breakdowns for females in smaller units, such as counties, boroughs, towns, etc. By assuming that the specific fertility rates by quinquennial age groupings in the state as a whole were the same or nearly the same as those in their respective constituent counties, cities, or towns, we multiply the individual state fertility rates by the quinquennial female age groupings. Adding up the results we get the calculated, or for our purposes, the expected number of births for each county area, or community according to the fertility of its corresponding group in the state as a whole. From the annual vital statistical publications we are able to get the number of live female births in counties. The observed number of births for these counties will be equal in numerical value to the calculated number, as obtained by the above indirect method, if fertility rates in these counties correspond with the fertility rates of the state as a whole. Putting it differently, the arithmetic ratio of observed to expected number of births, if fertility is the same, will be 1.00. If the ratio is more than 1.00, the fertility rates in that particular county will be higher and if the ratio is less than 1.00 it will be lower. By multiplying then the gross and net reproduction rates obtained by the direct method by the ratio as obtained in our calculations, we get the gross and net reproduction rates for this smaller unit. This method has been demonstrated and followed empirically in Tables 3 and 4. In testing results obtained by means of the indirect method of calculating fertility, allowing for corrections in the basic statistical data, it was found that the results obtained by means of both methods compared quite favorably and that the difference between the two results, which would be our error, was negligible.



TABLE 2

NATURAL AREAS INCLUDED IN TABULATION OF GROSS AND NET REPRODUCTION RATES AND CHARACTERIZATION BY TYPE (1930)

(Data are shown only for principal items or types)

| Natural Areas by Type* | Population    |               | Percent of Farm Land in             |    | Percent of Farm by Type |           |      |        | Approximate Income by Source |        |       |              |                  |                 |            |        |       |            |       |              |               |              |
|------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|----|-------------------------|-----------|------|--------|------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|------------------|-----------------|------------|--------|-------|------------|-------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
|                        | Percent Urban | Percent Rural | Percent of Total Land Area in Farms |    | Pasture                 | Crop Land | Corn | Cotton | General                      | Cotton | Dairy | Animal Spec. | Self Sufficiency | Forest Products | Cash Grain | Cotton | Fruit | Vegetables | Dairy | Meat Animals | Poultry Prod. | Forest Prod. |
| A <sub>m</sub>         | 0             | 100           | 46                                  | 49 | 19                      | 6         | —    | 36     | 1                            | 4      | 15    | 21           | 1                | —               | —          | 2      | —     | 2          | 15    | 39           | 12            | 3            |
| A <sub>s</sub>         | 12            | 88            | 72                                  | 49 | 38                      | 10        | —    | 33     | —                            | 8      | 4     | 18           | —                | —               | 7          | —      | 15    | 2          | 21    | 14           | 13            | 3            |
| B <sub>s</sub>         | 16            | 84            | 40                                  | 18 | 60                      | 10        | 39   | 1      | 91                           | —      | —     | —            | 1                | —               | —          | 78     | —     | —          | 3     | 2            | 1             | 1            |
| C <sub>1</sub>         | 15            | 85            | 67                                  | 8  | 81                      | 14        | 60   | —      | 97                           | —      | —     | —            | —                | —               | —          | 93     | —     | —          | 1     | 1            | —             | —            |
| C <sub>2</sub>         | 13            | 87            | —                                   | —  | —                       | —         | —    | —      | —                            | —      | —     | —            | —                | —               | —          | —      | —     | —          | —     | —            | —             | —            |
| D <sub>s</sub>         | 1             | 99            | 53                                  | —  | 65                      | —         | 34   | 2      | 93                           | —      | —     | —            | —                | —               | —          | 93     | —     | —          | 1     | 1            | —             | —            |
| E <sub>s</sub>         | 7             | 93            | —                                   | —  | —                       | —         | —    | —      | —                            | —      | —     | —            | —                | —               | —          | —      | —     | —          | —     | —            | —             | —            |

Key—A<sub>m</sub>. OZARK MOUNTAIN AREA; Missouri Counties: Ozark, Douglas, Christian, Stone, Taney;

A<sub>s</sub>. B<sub>s</sub>. OZARK MOUNTAIN AREA; Missouri Counties: Carroll, Baxter, Newton, Madison, Marion.

B<sub>s</sub>. C<sub>s</sub>. RED RIVER DELTA; Louisiana Parishes: Grant, Natchitoches, De Soto, Red River, Webster, Bienville, Winn;

C<sub>s</sub>. D<sub>s</sub>. MISSISSIPPI DELTA; Arkansas Counties: Columbia, Lafayette, Little River.

D<sub>s</sub>. MISSISSIPPI DELTA; Arkansas Counties: Ashley, Chicot, Crittenden, Cross, Desha, Lee, Lincoln, Mississippi, Poinsett, St. Francis;

E<sub>s</sub>. BLACK AND CACHE RIVER BOTTOMS AND TERRACES; Arkansas Counties: Jackson, Lonoke, Woodruff.

\* Classification based on data from U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, Vol. III: Population, and *Ibid.*: Types of Farming in the United States: 1930, (Washington, Gov. Printing Office, 1933)

TABLE 3

## REPRODUCTION RATES OF THE WHITE POPULATION IN SELECTED AREAS

| Area by Type*     | Number of Female by age |             | Number of Females Births |           | Index (Ratio of Observed to Estimated) | Reproduction Rates |       |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-----------|----------------------------------------|--------------------|-------|
|                   | 15-44 years             | Under 1 yr. | Observed                 | Estimated |                                        | Gross              | Net   |
| A <sub>mo</sub> ) |                         |             |                          |           |                                        |                    |       |
| B <sub>mo</sub>   | 20,379                  | 1,043       | 1,168a                   | 1,086     | 1.076b                                 | 1.78c              | 1.56d |
| A <sub>s</sub> )  |                         |             |                          |           |                                        |                    |       |
| B <sub>s</sub>    | 29,143                  | 1,596       | 1,788                    | 1,631     | 1.100                                  | 1.81               | 1.60  |
| C <sub>i</sub>    | 22,767                  | 1,090       | 1,221                    | 1,087     | 1.12                                   | 1.84               | 1.62  |
| D <sub>s</sub> )  |                         |             |                          |           |                                        |                    |       |
| E <sub>s</sub>    | 43,509                  | 2,395       | 2,682                    | 2,478     | 1.08                                   | 1.79               | 1.57  |
| D <sub>m</sub>    | 17,881                  | 846         | 948                      | 934       | 1.01                                   | 1.56               | 1.37  |

a—Correction factor for underenumeration of children under 1 year of age, Whelpton, P. K. "The Completeness of Birth Registration in the United States," JASA, XXIX (June, 1934).

Survival factor:  $[1 - (.77) (.04157)] = .9680$

Correction factor:  $1.085 \div .9680 = 1.12$

Observed births:  $(1,043) (1.12) = 1,168$

b—Ratio of Observed to Estimated:  $1,168 \div 1,086 = 1.076$

c—Gross Reproduction Rate:  $(1.65) (1.076) = 1.78$

d—Net Reproduction Rate:  $(1.45) (1.076) = 1.56$

\*A<sub>mo</sub> and B<sub>mo</sub>—OZARK MOUNTAIN AREA; Missouri. (For further description of Type of Area see Table.....)

A<sub>s</sub> and B<sub>s</sub>—OZARK MOUNTAIN AREA; Arkansas.

C<sub>i</sub>—RED RIVER DELTA; Louisiana.

D<sub>s</sub> and E<sub>s</sub>—MISSISSIPPI DELTA and BLACK and CACHE RIVERS; Arkansas.

D<sub>m</sub>—MISSISSIPPI DELTA; Mississippi.

TABLE 4

## REPRODUCTION RATES OF THE NEGRO POPULATION IN THE RED RIVER DELTA AND THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA

| Area by Type*  | Number of Females by Age |             | Number of Female Births |           | Index (Ratio of Observed to Estimated) | Reproduction Rates |       |
|----------------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------|----------------------------------------|--------------------|-------|
|                | 15-44 yrs.               | Under 1 yr. | Observed                | Estimated |                                        | Gross              | Net   |
| C <sub>i</sub> | 40,235                   | 1,631       | 2,006a                  | 2,006     | 1.00b                                  | 1.36c              | 1.03d |
| D <sub>s</sub> | 51,044                   | 2,070       | 2,546                   | 2,511     | 1.01                                   | 1.32               | 1.04  |
| D <sub>m</sub> | 45,872                   | 1,652       | 2,032                   | 2,449     | .83                                    | 1.22               | .97   |

a—Correction factor for under-enumeration of children under 1 year of age, 116.8; (Whelpton, P. K. "The Completeness of Birth Registration in the United States," JASA, XXIX June, 1934).

Survival factor:  $[1 - (.72) (.0738)] = .9469$

Correction factor:  $116.8 \div .9469 = 1.23$

Observed births:  $(1.23) (1631) = 2,006$

b—Ratio of Observed to Estimated:  $2,006 \div 2,006 = 1.00$

c—Gross Reproduction Rate:  $(1.36) (1.00) = 1.36$ .

d—Net Reproduction Rate:  $(1.03) (1.00) = 1.03$ .

\*C<sub>i</sub>—RED RIVER DELTA; Louisiana. (For further description of area see Table.....)

D<sub>s</sub>—MISSISSIPPI DELTA, BLACK and CACHE RIVERS; Arkansas.

D<sub>m</sub>—MISSISSIPPI DELTA; Mississippi.

TABLE 5

DIFFERENTIAL GROSS AND NET REPRODUCTION RATES OF WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION AREAS OF ARKANSAS, MISSOURI, MISSISSIPPI, AND LOUISIANA. (1930)

| AREA            | White<br>Reproduction Rates |      | Area           | Negro<br>Reproduction Rates |      |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|------|----------------|-----------------------------|------|
|                 | Gross                       | Net  |                | Gross                       | Net  |
| Arkansas        |                             |      | Arkansas       |                             |      |
| Total           | 1.65                        | 1.45 | Total**        | 1.27                        | 1.00 |
| Cotton-cropper  | 1.79                        | 1.57 | Cotton-cropper | 1.32                        | 1.04 |
| Rural Farm*     | 1.98                        | 1.74 |                |                             |      |
| Rural Non-Farm* | 1.47                        | 1.30 |                |                             |      |
| Ozark Mountain  | 1.81                        | 1.60 |                |                             |      |
| Missouri        |                             |      | Mississippi    |                             |      |
| Total*          | 1.11                        | .98  | Total**        | 1.41                        | 1.12 |
| Ozark Mountain  | 1.78                        | 1.56 | Cotton-cropper | 1.22                        | .97  |
| Cotton-cropper  |                             |      |                |                             |      |
| Rural Farm*     | 1.60                        | 1.41 |                |                             |      |
| Rural Non-Farm* | 1.32                        | 1.17 |                |                             |      |
| Mississippi     |                             |      | Louisiana      |                             |      |
| Total           | 1.54                        | 1.35 | Total**        | 1.34                        | 1.06 |
| Cotton-cropper  | 1.56                        | 1.37 | Cotton-cropper | 1.36                        | 1.03 |
| Rural-Farm*     | 1.85                        | 1.64 |                |                             |      |
| Rural Non-Farm* | 1.31                        | 1.16 |                |                             |      |
| Louisiana       |                             |      |                |                             |      |
| Total           | 1.36                        | 1.22 |                |                             |      |
| Cotton-cropper  | 1.84                        | 1.62 |                |                             |      |
| Rural Farm*     | 1.88                        | 1.67 |                |                             |      |
| Rural Non-Farm* | 1.61                        | 1.43 |                |                             |      |

\* Net reproduction rates from B. D. Karpinos, "The Differential True Rates of Growth of the White Population in the U. S.," *American Journal of Sociology*, (Sept. 1938) Vol. XLIV, No. 2, pp. 251-273.

\*\* Source: Unpublished paper delivered by B. D. Karpinos, Annual Meetings of the American Statistical Assn., Detroit, Dec. 1938.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC MEDICINE IN THE UNITED STATES

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## INTRODUCTION

From its earliest inceptions, medicine has been nurtured by the biological sciences. Only latterly, especially in the last fifty years, has it received the contributions of psychology, sociology, and economics. This evolution was necessary and inevitable, the direct result of its technological development. The growth of specialization and particularly public health and preventive medicine meant an ever-increasing concentration on disease and disease processes; because it brought with it the regulation of the individual and his social life, it became increasingly necessary, in order to treat disease, to understand man in his home and surroundings, in his work and recreations, in his struggles, hopes, and aspirations. Medicine in this sense has become social.

Throughout all history innovations have been greeted by opposition. But this is nothing new in human nature, and according to Stern<sup>1</sup> neither is it unique in medicine. Harvey, in his work on circulation, was accused of heresy and was persecuted as violently by members of his profession as by the public. Boyle was accused of attempting to ruin medicine by the introduction of mathematics when he counted pulse and respiration movements. Pasteur and the science of bacteriology were blocked at every turn for introducing new ideas and upsetting long-established traditions. The gradual acceptance of new science and new ideas presaged the broadening field of medicine.

Medicine and public health were preeminently concerned with the environment. They sought the sources of infection in the surroundings of man. Quarantine in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, meant the segregation of the *sick* who form but a part of the infected; many who were well but were found with the sick were also detained. Thus infected persons were overlooked and many uninfected persons were wrongly held.<sup>2</sup> Clinical medicine and public health are now concerned with the individual; they go beyond the action of the pneumonia

<sup>1</sup>Stern, B. J., *Social Factors in Medical Progress*, New York, 1927.

<sup>2</sup>Hill, H. W., *The New Public Health*, New York, 1929.

diplococcus in the lung tissues and blood stream, and strive to detect the pernicious influences of poor housing conditions, malnutrition, and poverty generally, with a view of prevention as well as cure. The fight against smallpox, typhoid fever, infant mortality, and tuberculosis has enlisted the forces of hygiene assisted by social legislation and community co-operation. Physicians have called upon sociologists and social workers to supplement the medical diagnosis by social diagnosis, to complete the medical treatment by social treatment. The confluence of the social and engineering sciences in medicine has been especially marked in industry<sup>2</sup> where the engineer, physician, psychologist, sanitary engineer, and personnel manager collaborate in an attempt to provide efficient medical treatment, satisfactory working conditions, and personality adjustment.

Disease, poverty, and neglect are no longer and can no longer be dealt with on a humanitarian basis. When this triad is viewed in terms of the productive loss to the community and the creation of public dependency, it must be measured on an economic basis, as costly, and as a waste unworthy of good community management. It is not without reason that the City of Detroit, in its war on tuberculosis several years ago had the slogan "To hell with mere lives. What we want is economy."

During the past quarter of a century the health and welfare of the people have become increasingly a matter of public concern. Is the care of the sick, and the poor, and the infirm a way of salving the national conscience or does it arise out of specific needs and obligations? What are the origins and reasons for such care? What provision is made for the health and welfare of our people? Since the administrative aspects of maintaining the public health have been carefully reviewed<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The physician was a pioneer in labor reform. From earliest times medical reports, at first objective and merely reportorial, on conditions in industry were forthcoming. Somewhat later remedial suggestions were also reported. This nexus, of the physician to industry, is described by Dr. Henry E. Sigerist in the "Historical Background of Industrial and Occupational Diseases," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, v. 12, No. 11, (N. S.), November, 1936.

<sup>3</sup>*The Legal Basis of Public Medical Care in Twelve States*, pamphlet published by the American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, 1936.

<sup>4</sup>Breckinridge, S. P., *Public Welfare Administration in the United States*, Chicago, 1938.

we shall be concerned here with certain broad principles of providing for the public health.

What is public health? Professor C.-E. A. Winslow defines it as "the science and the art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting health and efficiency through organized community efforts for the sanitation of the environment, the control of community infection, the education of the individual in principles of personal hygiene, the organization of medical and nursing service for the early diagnosis and preventive treatment of disease and the *development of the social machinery which will insure to every individual in the community a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health.*"<sup>6</sup> Public health, in addition to its traditional meaning, therefore, has included, in recent years, the broader concepts of health security and public welfare. This gradual transition unfolds itself in the development of public health in the United States, as we shall see. But public health work, per se, had its origins in the most primitive community life.

When people banded together in communal life they recognized the necessity of sanitary regulations. The recognition and institution of these measures for the preservation of the public health was first directed against the pestilential diseases. Historically, there are accounts of quarantine regulation in Greco-Roman times. Noteworthy is the example of the Venetian Republic in 1348, when at the approach of the plague pandemic, guardians were appointed to care for the public health.<sup>7</sup> The aggregation of people in cities has always been accompanied by the intensification of epidemic disease and by the lowering of the standard of health. In his penetrating studies, Sir Arthur Newsholme explains that " \* \* \* social history consists largely in a statement of efforts to counteract these maleficent tendencies by regulation and improvement of housing, of sewerage, of water supplies, of ventilation, and of food \* \* \*."<sup>8</sup>

How did these regulations arise? Public health laws have their origins and owe their effectiveness to the police power of the state, which has been defined as the function of

<sup>6</sup>Winslow, C.-E. A., *Untilled Fields of Public Health*, New York, 1920. The italics are mine.

<sup>7</sup>Newsholme, Sir A., *Evolution of Preventive Medicine*, Baltimore, 1927.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

government where " \* \* \* regulations are demanded by public policy for the benefit of society at large in order to guard its morals, safety, health \* \* \*." By its very nature police power is the legal enactment of the biological law of self-preservation and has its origin in the law of necessity. "The extent to which (it) may be exercised is undetermined. The legislative branch of the government is vested with large discretion, and may determine, primarily, the necessity or expediency of legislation in respect to any particular matter, and as to the means which shall be adopted to accomplish any legitimate object."<sup>10</sup> Public health law was motivated originally by evangelistic and humanitarian ideals, and received its impetus through fear (of contagion) and the realization of the economic impossibility of private philanthropy for caring for the sick and sick poor. Legally it is essentially elastic, accommodating to changing conditions and needs.

The recognition by the state that the health of its citizens was a public responsibility has its counterpart in the enactment of legislation for the relief of the poor which was based on a *moral obligation* for providing the necessities of life for the indigent. When private and parochial care of the poor and the administration of the poor laws became economically inadequate, public administration became necessary. The economic wisdom of providing for the indigent and sick thus superseded the humanitarian ideal.

In recent years how have public health and public welfare become related? Their confluence is illustrated in a decision handed down by the United States Supreme Court in 1898,<sup>11</sup> sustaining a Utah law regulating the hours of employment in the mining industry. Public health measures were conceived to embrace not merely technical regulations relating to quarantine, disinfection, sanitation, food and water inspection, but also to the establishment of or provision for the care of the defective, the afflicted, and the handicapped. Public health in this broader aspect is one with public welfare, in the provision for the health and social welfare of the people.

Dr. Breckinridge comments on the question of public versus private responsibility in the administration of public care

<sup>9</sup>Miami County v. Dayton, 92 O. 215.

<sup>10</sup>Bauman, J. E., "The Fundamentals of Public Health Law," *U. S. Public Health Reports*, v. 46, No. 12, March 20, 1931.

<sup>11</sup>Holden v. Hardy, 169 U. S. 366 at p. 395, 18 S. Ct. 383.

in the following way: " \* \* \* In all those situations \* \* \* in which the cost of comprehensive work is too great for private agencies to carry, such as the maintenance of free hospitals and medical service, \* \* \* in the care of the insane, the feeble-minded, the delinquent groups \* \* \* in those [situations where large agencies are necessary] in the relatively sparse population \* \* \* [the] government is substantially the only agency available \* \* \*."<sup>12</sup>

#### PUBLIC HEALTH AND PUBLIC WELFARE

The early history of public health work in America dates back to the period of colonization, when such companies as the Dutch East Indies and the London Companies sent over physicians to care for the settlers and paid for their services. These physicians, in addition to attending routine illnesses, were primarily occupied with the control of smallpox and yellow fever epidemics, and with the enforcement of maritime quarantine. In 1648 the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted the first sanitary legislation in the New World, a statute providing for maritime quarantine.<sup>13</sup> Public health responsibility in sanitation was manifest early in the eighteenth century when ordinances relating to the disposal of refuse and the prevention and control of odors were enacted. The influence of current medical doctrines and particularly the "spontaneous generation" theory was expressed by these laws, when it is recalled that the belief was then prevalent that all disease was transmitted by decaying animal and vegetable matter. Preventive treatment of the devastating public health problem, smallpox, was initiated by immunization and somewhat later by vaccination.

During this period medicine and public health practices suffered not only from the lack of understanding of the origin and mode of the spread of disease but also because of the lack of medical personnel, of technically trained physicians, and of hospitals and equipment. Although public health work was recognized as a community responsibility, early efforts were carried out on a highly individualistic basis. Only when severe outbreaks of disease occurred was collective action taken. Since there were no organized agencies to meet the emergency,

<sup>12</sup>*Op. cit.* 5.

<sup>13</sup>Chapin, C. V., "History of State and Municipal Control of Disease," published in the anniversary volume of the American Public Health Association, *A Half Century of Public Health*, New York, 1921.

temporary committees or officers were appointed in the community, or men grouped themselves voluntarily to protect the public health. Not until 1797 were the first Boards of Health authorized in Massachusetts.<sup>14</sup> Their chief work was the promotion of sanitary measures, isolation, quarantine, and disinfection. Although active during epidemics, their activities in more normal times were sporadic.

Public health work during this period, as Dr. Hill points out,<sup>15</sup> emphasized chiefly the environment. Not until bacteriology was accepted as a medical science were relationships between environment (and especially climate and geography)<sup>16</sup> and disease established on a scientific basis although they were presumed to exist. While it was true, that physicians did not understand the relationship between moisture and temperature and the life cycle of the vectors of malaria and yellow fever, they did know that these diseases could prevail only under certain conditions, and more favorably under some than under others.

In addition to provisions for the public health, local communities in Colonial America assumed responsibility for the care of the indigent, including care during sickness. The poor house, established for the indigent, often housed large numbers of acute and chronically ill as well as many who were mentally diseased. Private charity maintained "dispensaries" where the sick poor might receive drugs prescribed by the unpaid physicians who treated them in their homes. The municipality and the county, early in the nineteenth century, began to assume the responsibility for these people. Local welfare agencies were also established to provide medical and nursing care. As early as 1769 a colonial institution for the insane was founded in Virginia.<sup>17</sup> In 1822 an institution for the care of the deaf and dumb was established in Kentucky.<sup>18</sup> Other states followed suit rapidly, enlarging the

<sup>14</sup>Smillie, W. G., "The development of Public Health in America," *Illinois Health Messenger*, v. 11, No. 5, March 1, 1939.

<sup>15</sup>*Op. cit.* 2.

<sup>16</sup>August Hirsch, the Great German epidemiologist, was one of the first sanitarians to call attention to these relationships in his comprehensive two volume work: *Handbuch der historisch-geographischen Pathologie*, Berlin, 1881.

<sup>17</sup>*Op. cit.* 5.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

scope of public health and welfare work to include increasingly larger groups of medical and social need.

Growing interstate co-operation in the administration of public health work and in the use of medical institutions led to the realization that national responsibility in health and welfare was desirable. A bill was introduced perforce in the attempt to utilize Federal land-grants for such purposes. President Pierce, in vetoing the bill<sup>19</sup> providing for Federal grants of (10,000,000 acres) public lands to the states, for the benefit of the indigent insane, raised the constitutional question of Federal aid to indigents, dependents, and the sick. Such activity was considered the responsibility and within the exclusive realm of the states. It was not until the Social Security Act had been brought up for judicial consideration 82 years later that this question was answered.

The sick poor were first considered objects of charity and of private philanthropy. In the history of almshouses the community assumed the responsibility for their care. With the development of hospitals, however, home care and poor house care became subordinated to the hospitals. This changing emphasis has become especially noteworthy in recent years.<sup>20</sup>

The first fifty years of the nineteenth century in America stand out as a period of great immigrations from Europe, and much migration in our own country. "The opening up of new areas, the expansion of population, and the establishment of new industries covered the scars of mistaken undertakings \* \* \*,"<sup>21</sup> but created new social, economic, and public health problems. Because of these changes and of the rapid growth of cities, this period has been truly called the period of great epidemics. Dr. Bolduan<sup>22</sup> graphically shows the appalling death rates in New York City during these years. He points out that these have been plotted on estimated minimums since

<sup>19</sup>Richardson, J. D., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1897*, Washington, 1897. See v. 5.

<sup>20</sup>*The Conversion of Public Homes for the Aged and Dependent into Institutions for the Care of the Sick*, report of the Joint Committee on Hospital Care of the American Hospital Association and the American Public Welfare Association, March 30, 1939.

<sup>21</sup>*The Problems of a Changing Population*, report of the National Resources Committee, Washington, 1938.

<sup>22</sup>Bolduan, C. F., "The Conquest of Pestilence," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, V. 13, No. 3, July, 1935.

compulsory reporting of sickness and death was not in force until after the middle of the nineteenth century. It is believed, however, that the rates may have been somewhat higher, so that this graph may be representative of conditions in other cities during the same period.

Public health took on new meaning through men like Lemuel Shattuck and Stephen Smith. Shattuck was instrumental in founding Health Departments in Massachusetts. He set up such broad and forward looking standards and principles of public health work, that now, almost one hundred years later, they have not all been realized. The high correlation between poor home conditions and disease stimulated Dr. Smith to form a citizens' committee which made a sanitary survey of New York City. The report of this survey<sup>23</sup> was instrumental in the establishment of the City Board of Health. In a large measure it also served to bring together the group which led to the formation of the American Public Health Association in 1872. Public health activities during the next twenty-five years through organized health departments made great advances in the control of contagious disease, despite inefficiency, poor administration, and the lag between new discoveries in bacteriology and the application of techniques in control and prevention of infectious disease.

By the turn of the century the character of public health had changed completely. No longer was the emphasis placed on the technical procedures alone, but rather on the individual and on personal hygiene. Environmental control and bacteriology were supplemented by attention to bodily care. Besides sanitation, quarantine, and disinfection, public health was concerned increasingly with education, pointing out the value of good food, sleep, milk, ventilation and other factors. In his elucidating review of this period Dr. Smillie states:

"The district nursing service which was organized in the early eighties was intended essentially as a bedside nursing service for the sick poor. Certainly the founders of this organization had no idea that they were inaugurating a world-wide public health activity, nor that they were assuming an essential function that would be considered as a public responsibility. Nathan Straus, who established milk stations for the benefit of the sick child of the slums, probably never realized that he had opened a page of a great book . . . eventually to be entitled 'Child Health and Infant Welfare' . . . In a few short years the concepts of

<sup>23</sup>*Report of the Citizens Committee on the Sanitary Condition of New York, New York, 1867.*

infant hygiene, well-baby clinics, venereal disease clinics, dental hygiene, and a score of other related activities, became incorporated as part of the normal activity of a health service; a definite public responsibility to be assumed by full-time, trained personnel, paid for from the public purse." (24)

In recent years public health has concerned itself increasingly with economics and sociology. Public health officers have long seen that that poverty and ignorance are responsible for infant mortality, that poor working conditions and fatigue enhance the susceptibility of accidents and sickness, and that poor housing and malnutrition breed disease. The modern public health officer must, in addition to his other duties, co-operate with those whose chief concern is the elimination of those adverse social and economic conditions responsible for disease.

Briefly, this has been the development of the broad principles for the public care of the sick and needy. Much that follows is a description of the history and present status of community provisions for those unable to provide medical and hospital care for themselves.

#### UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Exclusive of the indigent and special conditions, public medical care is assured to special groups. Some of these are: (1) Officers and enlisted men of the United States Army and Navy; (2) Indians; (3) Veterans of the Civil War and Foreign Wars; (4) Seamen and others<sup>25</sup> in the hospitals and clinics maintained by the U. S. Public Health Service; (5) Inmates of Federal, State, and local prisons; (6) Civil and governmental employees working on governmental projects or engaged in governmental work; (7) Designated persons and medically needy in rural areas.<sup>26</sup>

The United States Public Health Service is the single governmental agency that represents the most intimate commingling of public health and public welfare work. Its broad functions are: (1) medical relief for special beneficiaries; (2)

<sup>24</sup>*Op. cit.* 14.

<sup>25</sup>These include cases of drug addiction, leprosy, and venereal diseases, for which five Federal hospitals are maintained (two, two, and one, respectively.)

<sup>26</sup>Most significant of the large-scale work is currently being undertaken by the Farm Security Administration.

<sup>27</sup>Williams, R. C., "Medical Care Plans for Low-Income Farm Families," *Health Officer*, v. 3., No. 9, January, 1939.

prevention of the spread of disease by virtue of police powers and Federal control over interstate and foreign commerce, and (3) study of public health problems and hazards in order to control disease and aid state and local health officials in their work. A fourth function has been added within the past few years, that of making financial grants-in-aid and providing equipment and medical personnel to local (state, county, and municipal) agencies for the control and treatment of special diseases such as syphilis and pneumonia. The history of the Public Health Service<sup>28</sup> shows strikingly the development of these variegated activities and the transition from the purely technical procedures in public health work to the broader public health-public welfare field of interest.

*Marine Hospital Service, 1798-1870.* One of the earliest governmental activities that did not relate to the actual operation of the government was the furnishing of medical relief to merchant seamen,<sup>29</sup> who through the master of the ship, paid the Collector of Customs twenty cents per month per man for medical care. The money was to be utilized to provide temporary relief and maintenance for sick and disabled seamen.

Hospitals were erected and staffed in the coastwise ports and the Louisiana and Northwest Territories. The tax on seamen was collected continuously from 1798 to 1870 with the exception of one year. It was significant to note that such money was sufficient to cover the expenses of the service for only 34 of the 73 years. During the other years deficiency appropriations from general government funds were required to maintain the service. Specific appropriations were continually needed for the purchase of sites and the erection of buildings. During the entire period medical relief was given in hospitals operated or contracted by the service, and in private dwellings through contracts with local physicians.

Administratively the Service lacked central organization.

<sup>28</sup>Much of this history was culled from the excellent Service Monograph No. 10; Schmerckebier, L. F., *The Public Health Service*, Baltimore, 1923. Reference on the early history of the Marine Hospital Service is also made in Professor H. W. Farnam's book *Chapters in the History of Social Legislation in the United States to 1860*. Washington, 1938.

<sup>29</sup>In 1782 and in 1798, respectively, the commonwealths of Virginia and Massachusetts enacted legislation providing for medical relief of seamen. Both of these acts paved the way for the establishment of the Marine Hospital Service. See: Trask, J. W., *Early State Hospitals for Seamen*, *U. S. Public Health Reports*, V. 54, No. 21, May 26, 1939.

The establishing act of 1798 placed all authority in the President, who delegated control to the Secretary of the Treasury. At first the President appointed surgeons in charge of hospitals. Later the Secretary of the Treasury made appointments, through the Collector of Customs, who being on the scene of operations also fixed all rules for the government of hospitals.<sup>20</sup> In the absence of a central supervisory authority each hospital was managed as a separate institution.

*Reorganized Marine Hospital Service, 1870-1902.* From 1870 to 1875 the Service underwent extensive reorganization. A Supervising Surgeon General was appointed who, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, was to supervise "all matters connected with the Marine Hospital Service, and with the disbursement of the fund for the relief of sick and disabled seamen."<sup>21</sup> During this period the hospital tax on seamen<sup>22</sup> was increased from twenty to forty cents, and in 1884 was superseded by a tonnage tax on vessels arriving from foreign ports. Under the new regulations, appointments were made, by examination, to the general service, not to particular hospitals or stations.

Quarantine laws were passed by Congress in 1796, 1799, 1832 and 1866, which extended Federal aid in the enforcement of local regulations. The cholera epidemic of 1873 brought about the act of 1878 which placed the authority of quarantine regulation on the Marine Hospital Service, establishing, in other words, a national quarantine system which was to be administered by and with the cooperation of local agents and agencies. The same year a National Board of Health was created, which took over the functions of the quarantine system, previously vested in the Public Health Service. Five years later this function reverted to the Service.

The growth of the Service saw an increase in its activities. A laboratory for the manufacture of biologicals was established. Then a bacteriological laboratory was set up, first at the Marine Hospital in New York. In 1891 it was moved to Washington to be integrated with the other Service

<sup>20</sup>Under such circumstances, local political appointments and bureaucratic control of professional conduct was possible and undoubtedly did exist.

<sup>21</sup>*Op. cit.* 26.

<sup>22</sup>"Seamen" became a more inclusive term, meaning men who worked on vessels, irrespective of the nature of the work.

activities. The act of March 27, 1890, was the first attempt to control and prevent the spread of disease from one state or territory into another.<sup>33</sup> The same year medical inspection of immigrants was added to the duties of the Service.

In 1901 legislation was enacted with the specific intent of broadening the scope of the Service's activities from that concerned with the provision of medical services for specified beneficiaries, to making the Service a governmental agency responsible for all matters relating to the health of the people. With this intent a hygienic laboratory was established.

*The Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, 1902-1912.* The gradual extension of the Service's activities from the medical treatment of seamen and the supervision of quarantine to the medical inspection of immigrants, prevention and control of interstate spread of disease, and the general investigations in the field of public health made it desirable to change its name and grant it larger statutory powers. The Public Health and Marine Hospital Service was now headed by a Surgeon General. To the existing divisions were added those in Chemistry, Zoology, and Pharmacy to carry on investigations relating to the manufacture and control of medicines and biologicals. With the repeal of the tonnage tax in 1906 the support of the Service devolved entirely upon Federal appropriations.

The broadened scope of the Service's work was reflected in many directions. Medical officers were "loaned" to the Bureau of Mines, the Department of the Interior, and other governmental and private agencies to investigate and study special health problems in different areas, industries, and social and economic groups. During this period when there was strong agitation for health insurance in America<sup>34</sup> and when England was embarking upon its health insurance program, several bills were introduced into Congress to unify the health activities and establish a Federal Department of Public Health. Receiving warm advocacy by many, these bills were defeated, nevertheless, by the determined opposition of organized medicine. The extension of public health work

<sup>33</sup>This act did not confer general interstate quarantine authority. It was limited to the control of cholera, yellow fever, smallpox and plague.

<sup>34</sup>Hirsh, J., "The Compulsory Health Insurance Movement in the United States," *Social Forces*, to be published in the fall, 1939.

and its invasion into public welfare during the following twenty years, saw a number of bills proposed to incorporate the Public Health Service under a Federal Department of Public Welfare.<sup>35</sup>

In 1912 the Service was renamed the United States Public Health Service. Largely as a result of the persistent efforts of the American Association for Labor Legislation for greater health security and because of our entry into the War, provision was made in 1917<sup>36</sup> for medical care and hospitalization of governmental employees injured in the performance of their duties. In addition the Division of Venereal Diseases was established by the Service. The extensive work that the Public Health Service was to undertake in the hospital field in the years following the War was pre-saged by its activity in establishing and contracting hospitals for the care of injured soldiers, much of which work was subsequently transferred to the Veterans' Bureau.

#### HOSPITALS

Hospitals, and especially institutions for the care of the insane, in America had their origins in the almshouses, which were used to shelter the sick and sick poor and were established by the Christian women of the community, who cared for the inmates. Care was largely custodial. Somewhat later, towards the end of the eighteenth century, hospitals for the care and treatment of the sick were established by private philanthropy. In this, as in other instances, humanitarian ideals motivated such undertakings.

Bellevue Hospital in New York City was one of the first institutions to originate as a community enterprise.<sup>37</sup> Growing out of the New York Public Workhouse, founded in 1736, in which one room was devoted to the care of the sick, a hospital-almshouse developed. These units were supplemented by a fever hospital in 1830. Gradually, thereafter, other units were added, forming the expansive institution that stands today.

The technological progress in medicine resulted in the changing concepts of institutional care for the sick; treat-

<sup>35</sup>Op. cit. 5.

<sup>36</sup>*Annual Report of the U. S. Employees Compensation Commission*, Washington, 1918.

<sup>37</sup>MacEachern, M. T., *Hospital Organization and Management*, Chicago, 1935.

ment superseded custodial care. Anesthesia was responsible for detracting some of the horror of hospitals, while bacteriology paved the way for fewer deaths. Truly these two factors, anesthesia and asepsis, exerted the greatest influence in the development of the modern hospital. By itself, bacteriology was responsible for a widespread hospital-public health function, that of the control, care and treatment of communicable disease.

Military surgery, notably during the Civil War, and the work of the Marine Hospital Service were particularly significant in the initiation and expansion of hospital construction. By the twentieth century hospitals had mushroomed all over the country. In 1873 only 149 hospitals and allied institutions had been established. In striking contrast was the number in existence in 1938: 6,166.

What provision is made for public hospital care by communities? Tax-supported or public general hospitals and clinics were established originally for the care of indigent persons, growing out of the responsibility of the state for the care of its dependents. In recent years, however, much of the service of governmental hospitals in the smaller cities has been given over to people just above the subsistence level, those called the "medically indigent," who can provide everything for themselves—except medical and hospital care. The tendency has been growing to admit paying patients to governmental general hospitals. In a recent study of 247 local governmental general hospitals, or about one-half of the total number, two-thirds reported income from paying patients "which covered 50 per cent or more of the total reported expenditures."<sup>38</sup>

*Federal Hospitals.* Governmental hospitals and clinics care for communicable diseases, contagious and infectious diseases, the chronically ill, and such special public health problems as mental disease, tuberculosis, narcotic cases, leprosy, and venereal disease. Federal general hospitals are generally large in big cities, small and widely scattered in rural areas. Because they care only for special beneficiaries, as we have seen (in the case of the hospitals maintained by the U. S.

<sup>38</sup>Davis, M. M. and Plumley, M. L., "Use of General Hospitals Under Governmental Auspices by Paying Patients," to be published in the September, 1939 issue of *Hospitals*.

Public Health Service) and special conditions, they are limited in their ability to provide for general community needs. In 1938 there were 260 Federal hospitals<sup>39</sup> caring for special beneficiaries.

*Local Governmental Hospitals.* State, county, municipal, and municipal-county hospitals established primarily for the care of the indigent in 1938 numbered 52, 210, 220, and 38 respectively. These assume real significance in providing general medical care to people in the low income groups and the medically needy.

Despite the fact that governmental general hospitals constitute only 27 per cent of all registered hospitals, they contain almost 35 per cent of the total number of hospital beds available in the United States. (See Table I). An even greater load is carried by governmental mental hospitals which comprise almost 70 per cent of the total number of registered mental hospitals and contain 98 per cent of the available beds for mental patients. (See Table II). This same trend is also observed with reference to tuberculosis hospitals (See Table III); almost 63 per cent of the total number of registered tuberculosis hospitals are governmental hospitals, containing 79 per cent of all beds for the tuberculous. It should be noted that in all three cases the local general hospitals play a more significant role than the Federal hospitals, constituting a larger number and containing a great many more beds.

#### RECENT TRENDS IN THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC MEDICAL CARE

The lack of governmental hospitals and the financial crisis facing many voluntary hospitals throughout the country during the depression years paved the way for the recent trend in tax-support of voluntary institutions.<sup>40</sup> Dr. Davis estimates "... that at the present time about 10 per cent of the beds in the nongovernmental general hospitals are filled by nonpaying patients for whom some payment is

<sup>39</sup>"Hospital Service in the United States, 1939," *The 1938 Census of Hospitals*, Published by the American Medical Association, Chicago, 1939.

<sup>40</sup>In the early history of almshouses the sick were sometimes "farmed out" to voluntary hospitals and paid for from public funds. During the early days of the Marine Hospital Service (q. v.), when there were few Federal hospitals sick seamen were "boarded out" or voluntary hospitals or parts of hospitals were contracted for to care for them, paid for from taxation and the dues collected from the seamen.

made by local or state governments, and that the amount of such payments is of the order of \$25,000,000 annually."<sup>41</sup> This trend is by no means new and is rooted in a precedent that goes as far back as 1771, when government provided financial assistance for privately directed institutions of

TABLE I\*

DISTRIBUTION OF FACILITIES OF REGISTERED\*\* GENERAL AND SPECIAL HOSPITALS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF ORGANIZATION IN CONTROL\*\*\*

| Type of organization<br>in control of hospital | Facilities reported by<br>hospitals under each type of control |          |          |          |
|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
|                                                | Hospitals                                                      |          | Beds**** |          |
|                                                | Number                                                         | Per Cent | Number   | Per Cent |
| All hospitals                                  | 4,839                                                          | 100.0    | 450,696  | 100.0    |
| Voluntary (Nonprofit                           | 2,469                                                          | 51.0     | 249,758  | 55.5     |
| (Proprietary                                   | 1,542                                                          | 31.8     | 45,632   | 10.1     |
| Federal                                        | 259                                                            | 5.4      | 52,037   | 11.5     |
| Other Governmental                             | 569                                                            | 11.8     | 103,269  | 22.9     |

\*Adapted from: Mountin, J. W. et al, "Selected Characteristics of Hospital Facilities in 1936," in *Hospital Facilities in the United States, Public Health Bulletin 243*, Washington, September, 1938.

\*\*American Medical Association registration.

\*\*\*Based on 4,839 hospitals reporting usable data on control and facilities.

\*\*\*\*Bassinets are excluded as they comprise but a small percentage of the total number of beds available in governmental general hospitals. In special governmental hospitals they are even less significant.

public service. The New York Legislature voted £8,000 sterling a year in 1771, for twenty years to assist in the building of what is now "The Society of the New York Hospital" (New York Hospital).

A study now in process states that "the policy of paying clinics of voluntary hospitals (out of public funds) for care of relief patients has been adopted principally in communities where there are no out-patient departments connected with municipal or county hospitals or where the service rendered . . . is limited."<sup>42</sup> The depression saw an increase in unmet

<sup>41</sup>Davis, M. M., *Public Medical Services*, Chicago, 1937.

<sup>42</sup>Davis, M. M., *Trends in Payment for Out-Patient Care in Voluntary Hospitals*, unpublished paper, June, 1939.

medical needs resulting largely from the inability of a constantly growing number of people who could not afford to pay for medical and hospital care. This, and the inadequate financial support of most nongovernmental hospitals led to two broad movements: on the private side, the group hos-

TABLE II\*

DISTRIBUTION OF FACILITIES OF REGISTERED MENTAL HOSPITALS  
ACCORDING TO SPECIFIED TYPE OF ORGANIZATION IN CONTROL

| Type of organization<br>in control of hospital | Facilities reported by<br>hospitals under each type of control |          |               |          |
|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------------|----------|
|                                                | Hospitals                                                      |          | Hospital Beds |          |
|                                                | Number                                                         | Per Cent | Number        | Per Cent |
| All hospitals                                  | 597                                                            | 100.0    | 532,437       | 100.0    |
| Voluntary (Nonprofit)                          | 48                                                             | 8.0      | 10,073        | 1.9      |
| (Proprietary)                                  | 198                                                            | 33.2     | 9,366         | 1.7      |
| Federal                                        | 27                                                             | 4.5      | 26,436        | 5.0      |
| State                                          | 252                                                            | 42.2     | 444,914       | 83.6     |
| City or County                                 | 72                                                             | 12.1     | 41,648        | 7.8      |

\*Op. cit. Mountin, J. W., footnote Table I.

TABLE III\*

DISTRIBUTION OF FACILITIES OF REGISTERED TUBERCULOSIS  
HOSPITALS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF ORGANIZATION IN CONTROL

| Type of organization<br>in control of hospital | Facilities reported by<br>hospitals under each type of control |          |               |          |
|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------------|----------|
|                                                | Hospitals                                                      |          | Hospital Beds |          |
|                                                | Number                                                         | Per Cent | Number        | Per Cent |
| All hospitals                                  | 506                                                            | 100.0    | 70,764        | 100.0    |
| Voluntary (Nonprofit)                          | 119                                                            | 23.5     | 11,270        | 15.9     |
| (Proprietary)                                  | 69                                                             | 13.6     | 3,515         | 5.0      |
| Federal                                        | 19                                                             | 3.8      | 4,150         | 5.9      |
| State                                          | 63                                                             | 12.5     | 17,724        | 25.0     |
| City or County                                 | 236                                                            | 46.6     | 34,105        | 48.2     |

\*Op. cit. Mountin, J. W., footnote Table I.

pitalization or hospital insurance movement, and on the public side, the demand for the extension of tax payments for services rendered to nonpaying patients.

In 1933 the Federal Emergency Relief Administration passed regulations<sup>43</sup> relating to the use of Federal Relief Funds for the payment of medical attendance and medical supplies for relief recipients. It was stated explicitly that these funds could not "... be used for payment of hospital bills. . . , or for providing general institutional care. These necessary services to the destitute should be made available (however) through State or local funds."<sup>44</sup> By May of the following year 29 states were participating actively in the program initiated under Rules and Regulations No. 7.<sup>45</sup> It is interesting to note that while this rule expressly disavowed the use of Federal money for hospital bills, it left a legal loophole, as a result of which programs were designed to pay not only hospitals but also physicians, out of state and local funds. The National Health Program<sup>46</sup> approached this problem realistically by calling for an extension in the use of public funds for medical and hospital care.

Three years ago a joint committee of the American Hospital Association and the American Public Welfare Association drew up principles relating to hospital care for the needy,<sup>47</sup> which have been accepted in substance by both organizations. These principles become significant when we consider that the national organizations endorsing them represent those who give as well as administer hospital care for the indigent. Most important were the provisions that recognized (1) the lack of local general hospital care for indigents or people of low income (medically needy), that (2) communities must depend upon voluntary hospitals for the care of public charges, and that (3) they should be paid for such care from tax funds, on the basis of services rendered.

<sup>43</sup>Federal Emergency Relief Administration. *Rules and Regulations No. 7, Governing Medical Care Provided in the Home to Recipients of Unemployment Relief*, Washington, 1933.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup>*Medical Care for the Unemployed and Their Families: Under the Plan of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration*, A report of the American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, 1934.

<sup>46</sup>*Proceedings of the National Health Conference*, July 18-20, 1938, Washington D. C., Washington, 1938.

<sup>47</sup>*Hospital Care for the Needy*, a statement of the Joint Committee of the American Hospital Association and the American Public Welfare Association Hospitals, V. 13, No. 1, January, 1939.

## CONCLUSION

The general promotion of the public health has developed so rapidly and sporadically that inevitably many mistakes in administration resulted. The demand has been so great that new activities developed before properly trained personnel could be secured to carry them out effectively. Conflict and misunderstanding between official health services and organized medicine, therefore, have been as inevitable as they are unfortunate. Attitudes for and against this broader aspect of public health were long in developing but have only recently engendered strife. Official health services, however, have had to take a stand in light of this broader scope. Public health has come to mean health security. When the Federal government proposed a National Health Program<sup>48</sup> the American Public Health Association was one of the first national bodies to endorse it<sup>49</sup> officially.

From the preceding schema it appears that public medical care evolved for a variety of reasons. The motivation, early in the history of this country, was based largely upon humanitarian ideals. Public interest in dependency resulting from disease and the inability of private funds to support care for a great many people paved the way for public medical care. The public threat of communicable disease was another factor responsible for the provision of care and establishment of regulations and standards for the protection of the rest of the community. In recent years the costliness of the treatment of a great many diseases, such as pneumonia,<sup>50</sup> syphilis,<sup>51</sup> cancer, and tuberculosis has made it expedient and necessary that tax-supported provisions aid these victims.

Health and welfare, almost to the close of the last century, were synonymous and it was not until the recent depression that the bifurcation of the past twenty-five years was closed. Under the Social Security Act and the National Health Program, they have once more become synonymous. Programs

<sup>48</sup>*Op. cit.* 40

<sup>49</sup>Resolution passed at 67th Annual Meeting of American Public Health Association, Kansas City, Mo., October, 1938. Resolution published in *American Journal of Public Health*, v. 28, No. 12, December, 1938.

<sup>50</sup>Hirsh, J., A Study of the Economics of Pneumonia, U. S. Public Health Reports, V. 53, No. 49, December 9, 1938.

<sup>51</sup>Keidel, A., "Economic Aspects of the Management of Syphilis," *Archives of Dermatology and Syphilology*, v. 25, March, 1932.

for the extension of maternal and child health and welfare, of public health services, of hospital construction, of rural medical services, and of medical care to relief recipients indicate that public medical care will play an increasingly larger role in the scheme of health security. With the reimbursement of hospitals and clinics for the care of public charges, does it not appear possible that physicians may also be reimbursed? Do not present trends indicate an extension of public service for the home care of the medically needy?

In *Care of the Indigent Sick*, a publication of the Bureau of Medical Economics (1934) of the American Medical Association, one of their expressed oppositions to public medical care and health insurance is based on the fact that "... (hired) physicians have been generally overworked and underpaid; ... they have often been chosen for their political affiliations and their work has been subject to political pressure; ... they have seldom furnished really adequate medical care. Their services have been rejected by the more intelligent and self-supporting persons who desire to choose their own physician."

In the provision of public medical care there is frequently duplication of services. Unwieldy administrative machinery often results in lost efficiency and has incurred high costs. We have seen, in the development of the Marine Hospital Service—and this practice has been even more prevalent in the administration of local (county-city, state) health services—that political appointments of health officials are not uncommon. It is equally true that medical care provided under public auspices may not always be of the finest quality, but there are reasons for it. Consider, for example, the great numbers of people to be cared for and the inadequacy of medical and ancillary personnel available. The quality of medical care in the final analysis, however, must be evaluated in terms of the physicians who administer the care. Is it not mandatory, with the probable extension of public medical care, that health and welfare authorities and medical societies not only stimulate improvements in the quality of service rendered but establish standards of professional eligibility for physicians and hospitals, in the care of public charges?

## NOTES FROM THE SOUTHWEST

### ARKANSAS

*University of Arkansas*—Dr. James W. Reid, formerly Assistant Professor of Rural Economics and Sociology, has accepted a position as Associate Professor of Geography at Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College, Nacogdoches, Texas.

Dr. Trimble R. Hedges, Associate Professor of Rural Economics and Sociology, spent June in Washington in connection with a study of cotton production methods which he is making in cooperation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

John G. McNeeley, Department of Rural Economics and Sociology, spent September in Washington in connection with a study of farm labor organization which he is making in cooperation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Thomas W. Finney, formerly with the Bankers Trust Company of New York City, has been appointed instructor in Business Administration.

E. B. Sparks, formerly instructor in Accounting in the School of Business, has accepted a position with the Arkansas Utilities Commission.

John E. Kane and Galen B. Price have been appointed instructors in Business Administration.

### LOUISIANA

*Southwestern Louisiana Institute*—Professor George Thomas Walker, formerly with Southeastern College at Hammond, has joined the staff of the Department of Economics and Business Administration as Assistant Professor of Accounting.

Professor K. W. Hall, formerly with McMurry College at Abilene, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Business Correspondence in the Department of Economics and Business Administration.

The Department of Economics and Business Administration recently purchased several thousand dollars worth of equipment for the new course in Business Machines to be taught by Professor Walker in the fall.

Dr. Karl E. Ashburn, head of the Department of Economics and Business Administration, spent several weeks in August

in Texas gathering material for a manuscript on workmen's compensation insurance. Dr. Ashburn was director of the workmen's compensation insurance survey for the State of Texas in 1938.

#### OKLAHOMA

*University of Oklahoma*—A new series, to be called *American Exploration and Travel*, is being announced for Fall by the University of Oklahoma Press. It follows rather logically on the Press's program of regional exploration carried out over the period of the past eleven years, which has produced the well-established *Civilization of the American Indian Series*, now numbering eighteen volumes, and an extensive list in the field of Western Americana.

## BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY O. DOUGLAS WEEKS  
*The University of Texas*

Kneier, Charles M., *Illustrative Materials in Municipal Government and Administration*. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939, pp. xxii, 632.)

The increased emphasis on a dynamic approach to the understanding of the roots of the democratic process implies the need for some guide to the study of municipal affairs which is more than a vague generalization. There is a decided tendency to give the student something more than a few platitudes on which to base his attitudes. The struggle to justify the democratic process, to combat the "isms," and to develop an understanding of the complexities of modern municipal government requires a more realistic approach to the problem. If time and resources permitted, actual contact and observation would be the correct procedure, but in lieu of the necessary facilities for such an approach a compilation of the pertinent illustrative materials constitutes a desirable substitute. Such is the nature of Kneier's *Illustrative Materials in Municipal Government and Administration*.

The materials in the book consist of excerpts from the constitutions, statutes, charters, and pertinent cases illustrating points in question as well as examples of administrative devices and comments by persons and organizations qualified to express an opinion on a given point in municipal government. The first third of the volume is devoted to an analysis of the organizational aspects of municipal government dealing with the creation of the unit, its relation to the state, its liabilities, its form, and its relation to the electorate. The larger portion of the book is devoted to an analysis of such administrative problems as personnel, expenditures, revenues, debts, planning, zoning, housing, protection, utility regulation and municipal ownership. Except for short paragraphs by the author in which the materials are tied together, the volume consists of verbatim excerpts from well-selected sources.

The author indicates that his is the legal approach, justifying it on the grounds that what may be done in a municipal government is actuated largely by the probability of legality. In a measure that is true, but there is considerable reason to believe that such an approach neglects the whole field of administrative expediency whereby the municipal officials diverge from the legal standards to meet local conditions. Such a compilation as Mr. Kneier has brought together may choose to show what is, what appears to be, or what should be; and an approach from the viewpoint of the law or the lawyer is most apt to neglect the first alternative. Considering the many ramifications which the courts of the forty-eight states have caused in their analyses of the legal position of the municipality, the book presents the complex legal approach understandingly.

While it is true that the expansionist activities of municipalities which are developed in the volume constitute an overwhelming concern in municipal government today, it is likewise true that there are decided problems among the so-called regressive or declining cities. What

is to be done to solve the problems of the overexpanded, financially insolvent, declining city, and how are we to prevent the recurrence of the problems which appear to be inherent in them? This whole field is, by its omission, relegated to a position far less important than may be warranted.

The outstanding sources of material are ably tapped to bring together the materials in the text. As is so often true, however, a statement or principle of law does not identify the precise situation. In the materials on Texas, for example, much more emphasis is placed on city zoning than seems actually to be warranted, while virtually no emphasis from the standpoint of Texas is given to the institution which is so peculiarly Texan, the municipal abattoir. Similarly the materials on the city manager enumerate the self-evident facts, leaving to the teacher or student the problem of observing him as he is.

The recent trend in the expansion of municipal activities is noticeable in the emphasis given to materials which a decade ago would have been passed over lightly. The form of government is deemphasized in favor of the functional approach. Finance, planning, zoning, housing, improved techniques of protection constitute a major portion of the volume as opposed to the previous limitless emphasis on the allocation and distribution of functions.

Not only the college student, but the legislator, the civic-minded citizen, the newspaper editor will find much to improve his understanding of 1939 municipal activities in Kneier's compilation. It is by no means a substitute for a critical first-hand analysis of one's own city government, but it does bring together materials heretofore unavailable for a better understanding of the urban unit of local government.

M. G. TOEPEL

The University of Texas

Jacks, L. P., *Cooperation or Coercion?* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1938, pp. xvii, 153.)

Within brief compass, Jacks presents a forceful, persuasive case for his own version of the second effort at world organization for peace. Despite the current fashion of diplomacy, he finds no promise of international peace or security in old-style power politics; nor does he join the alarmists who can see in the future only catastrophic conflict between democratic and fascistic worlds. International organization is the only sure way to world peace, even though the League of Nations, as the first effort, has signally failed.

Jacks' analysis of this failure is very interesting. He maintains that the League, regardless of contingent circumstances (which he leaves to the historians), was destined to fail by its very nature. It was organized upon the anomalous principle of preserving peace by making war against its members. The Founding Fathers, Jacks points out, emphatically rejected this idea in writing the American Constitution. Also the lack of a mechanism for revision within the League tended to perpetuate existing international injustices, and made it a sort of modern Holy

Alliance; revolt was inevitable. Furthermore, the organization of the League, in recognizing the sovereignty of the member nations, was deprived thereby of any power to apply effective military or economic sanctions; each nation, lacking sufficient confidence in the League to surrender war-making authority to it, could find justification for any of its actions, aggressive or otherwise, by appeal to national sovereignty. The belief that the League was but the further expression of the evolutionary process by which some of the great nations of today came into being through the federation of a number of smaller states was mistaken. On the international scene, the cultural homogeneity, basic to the union of peoples into great states, is as yet non-existent.

Economic, rather than political, organization is the way to peace. Acknowledging his debt to philosopher Josiah Royce, Jacks proposes various forms of international mutual insurance. Nations paying premiums into a great insurance fund might indemnify any policy-holding nation for losses suffered because of air raids; insurance coverage might be gradually extended to other kinds of loss due to war or threats of war. The insurance fund or funds would be administered by an international board of trustees, possibly modeled after the present Bank of International Settlements. Contribution of national savings from a correlated program of international disarmament would swell the insurance fund. As such economic cooperation among nations expanded, the cooperative habit of mind would grow upon the peoples of the world and prepare the necessary psychological basis for a more direct approach to world peace. An international climate of opinion in which the community of human interests and destiny are clearly visible would be fostered.

As Jacks turns from critical analysis to his constructive proposals, his case becomes somewhat less convincing. Though he cites instances of successful economic cooperation among nations, he neglects to observe that in spite of them the peoples of the world are more dominated by self-seeking nationalism than ever. Is it not too optimistic to count heavily upon mankind's achieving international-mindedness? And, until the world is culturally homogeneous to a large extent, will not national differences remain and nationalist ambitions and fears impel men to war? Economic cooperation may tend to reduce the cultural diversity among peoples, but does not appear to be a complete solvent. The same force of nationalism that rendered the League ineffective would also hamstring purely economic organization for the same ultimate purpose; this seems amply demonstrated by the post-war failures of world economic conferences. The quest for peace must proceed in both political and economic spheres contemporaneously; this is the lesson to be learned by analogy from the history of the formation of the American union.

Although Jacks' proposals raise more questions than he can possibly answer, they are highly provocative and worth serious consideration. The simple, clear, and lively style in which his little book is written is that of informal lecture, and will appeal widely to the lay reading public. Disagreement with Jacks' interpretation of our experience with the

League and doubt as to the practicability of some of his proposals cannot detract from the value of his courageous effort in exploring unknown territory. Much of his argument is eminently logical; his appeal to experience, generally convincing; and his intellectual leap into the future stimulating and challenging.

AUGUST O. SPAIN

Hendrix College

Odum, Howard W., and Moore, Harry Estill, *American Regionalism*. (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1938, pp. x, 693.)

Odum and Moore offer the first compendium treatment of a relatively new subject, and succeed in doing an excellent job despite the "workshop" character of the product. They define American regionalism, and attempt to distinguish it carefully from sectionalism. They devote separate chapters in Part I to the various natural, cultural, political, social, and economic bases of regions that cover ordinarily several states and parts of states. They find little difficulty in showing that there are serious problems and developmental opportunities transcending state boundaries, yet falling short of national scope; problems and opportunities arising out of these regions require regional study and research for understanding, and regional planning for the general welfare. In Part II, the several social sciences are discussed with reference to their contributions to regionalism as an outlook or approach, and to the understanding of specific regions within the American nation. Part III contains descriptive accounts of the significantly regional aspects of civilization in each of the six regions into which the authors divide the country. The book closes with a restatement of the values of regionalism and an enumeration of the vital problems to the solution of which regionalism promises much. A very useful bibliography is appended.

The few shortcomings of this work arise largely out of the subject matter. The authors, for example, do not define "American regionalism" with complete simplicity and directness. In pioneering in a new academic field, as they are, there is usually no more arduous task than that of formulating fundamental definitions and concepts; and then Odum and Moore follow the difficult way of attempting an amalgamation that will satisfy the preconceptions of many diverse research disciplines. On defining regionalism—for one purpose—as the science of the region, they face similar difficulties in defining the region. Their composite method of drawing the boundaries of their six areas, "measured by the largest number and variety of indices available for the largest number and variety of purposes or classifications," is probably the only feasible answer to an almost insoluble program. Yet the use of their method may produce a region remarkable for its heterogeneity; in the area they call the Southwest, for instance, East Texas is included although it seems to have much more in common with the Old South measured by most indices. It is interesting here to note that regional boundaries do no violence to those of the states, the authors, for practical reasons, doing obeisance to our constitutional system, despite factors of culture, eco-

nomics, and natural environment that would have regions ignore state lines. This concession is compromised by having other overlapping areas on the map called sub-regions.

Odum and Moore have a high vision of the contribution to the progress of American civilization that can be made by the regional approach: regional study, research, and understanding; regional planning; and wise national integration of the several regional programs. And their vision is broadly grounded in detailed knowledge of regional trends and accomplishments thus far. They want more regional autonomy for its efficiency in a nation continental in size, but they reject isolationist and competitive sectionalism. They want to conserve natural, human, and cultural resources against exploitation; but they reject the hostility of the Southern agrarians to industrial development *per se*. As planners, they have some faith in man's command of his collective destiny, but surely cannot be accused of Utopian day-dreaming. In their long-run goal of the socially most efficient utilization of natural and human resources in America, they share something of Plato's ideal of justice, but they recognize it as an ideal. Their comprehensive treatment of regionalism in this work fills a long-felt need, and will serve as an indispensable source for reference and orientation. Not the least value of the book is the inescapable emphasis it gives to the need for other expert studies like that of *Southern Regions in the United States* by Odum.

AUGUST O. SPAIN

Hendrix College

Hodges, Henry G., *City Management*. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1939, pp. 759.)

Professors of municipal government and administration have long decried the lack of up-to-date and adequate textbooks on the subject. Now comes one from the pen of an individual with wide academic background and practical experience. In *City Management* the author has set himself an ambitious task, his discussions ranging from colonial American cities to council-manager government, and from the purposes of education to the number of levels and the kinds of material utilized in hard-surfacing streets. After background chapters dealing briefly with the history of the city and with theories of administration, a functional organization is used to set up chapters on such subjects as finance, debts, fire, health, housing, planning, zoning, water, streets, wastes, traffic, public works, public utilities, and public welfare. A closing chapter, twenty-eighth, is titled "New Horizons" and gives brief mention not only to municipal tendencies but also to federal and state practices affecting city government. At the end of each chapter appears a "What do You Think?" page containing from ten to twenty questions revolving around the subject matter of the chapter. A wide range of bibliographical references appears in the footnotes rather than in a separate compilation.

Any attempt to evaluate such a volume as Mr. Hodges' *City Management* must take into account the author's articulated purposes. In the

preface he indicates a desire to provide a readable and "nonsolemn" textbook for the prospective citizen who should be prepared to make intelligent demands of his local government. In addition to this the author states a wish to prepare a handbook for the practitioner. The method followed is to present both theory and practice. "The *practice* is emphasized, and illustrated, because it presents the performance attainable by those who guide local affairs. The *theory* is classified practice, plus the logical conclusions and improvements which flow from its operation."

It appears that the level of the volume is determined by the purpose first named. To the novice it offers a more interesting, a more definite, and certainly a much less dry treatment of the actual workings of the municipal organization than does the average treatment of the subject. To the man in the field the bibliographical references, as well as the numerous diagrams and illustrations, will no doubt prove suggestive of more detailed aids than the volume itself offers. For the advanced student of municipal administration, however, the approach is so unsophisticated and the material presented so thin that it will prove of little value to him.

*City Management* is something new in municipal textbooks. The style is quick and free-moving. The text is sprinkled generously with quotations, homely and learned, and is not without humor. Cultural, economic, and sociological factors are woven into the discussions in an interesting and intelligent fashion. Philosophical comments creep into the most technical discussions, and personal attitudes are often openly reflected. It may, in fact, be ventured that the author has allowed his own ubiquitous interest and enthusiasm to insert material sometimes detracting from the main subject of his study. Many pages, for example, can be devoted to the purposes of free public education, and any attempt to incorporate such a subject, however briefly, in a textbook on municipal management is perhaps to weaken the force of the author's remarks on more pertinent matters. To the reviewer the chief merit of the work would be its value to the general reader.

STUART A. MACCORKLE

The University of Texas

Couch, W. T., (Ed.). *These Are Our Lives*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939, pp. xx, 421).

Here are sketches of thirty-five persons in widely diversified occupations in the states of North Carolina and Tennessee, presented as an example of cultural portraiture through the use of life histories. The result is a startlingly clear impression of the sorts of lives these particular persons live. They emerge as real personalities; the reader lays aside the book with the feeling that he has been in the homes of these folk and has been privileged to discuss their private affairs with them. Their problems, their plans, their hopes, their disappointments are limned in sharp-cut detail which carries an inescapable air of authenticity. It would seem impossible to read these stories and not conclude

that here was a piece of honest reporting with enough of the craftsmanship of the professional writer added to make it interesting. The work of gathering and preparing the stories was done by workers on the Works Projects Administration writer's program, and reflects high credit to that organization.

Although it is evident that the persons in charge of the work made a sincere effort to secure stories of persons throughout the range of the industrial groups written about, it is also evident that they were not wholly successful. The book leaves one with a feeling of having visited only those on the lower fringes of each group. This is true in spite of the fact that in the farm group are included a "white large landlord," small farm owners and cash tenants as well as share-croppers. But, somehow, the sharecroppers remain in one's memory, while the landlord and merchant fades away and leaves only a picture of an undeveloped child in a little wagon. The explanation perhaps lies in the idea that the "folk" must always be underprivileged and pathetic.

As to whether the picture of the regional culture here presented is true or not, one is left in doubt. That depends, of course, on how typical are the characters here presented. It is, perhaps, possible to show an entire culture in one sketch; if that one sketch is of a person who combines in his own personality the dominant traits of his region. But it is extremely hard to find one such person, or even to find thirty-five who will do so. Perhaps if more detail had been given concerning the lives of the persons written about, the reader would be in a better position to judge how typical they are. Although the stories are presented as life histories, it is evident that they do not live up to this characterization from the sociological point of view. They might better be called literary sketches of the subjects. All writers were given the same instructions and were supposed to have covered the same ground in each sketch. Unfortunately, they did not follow those instructions closely enough to make the sketches comparable.

*These Are Our Lives* displays the brilliant promise of the case study method and, at the same time, demonstrates the dangers and limitations of its use. On the whole, the book is a most interesting excursion into sociology by a group of writers trained in and upholding literary standards. It is as interesting reading as anything that has come this way for many moons.

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

The University of Texas

Woofter, T. J., Jr., and Winston, Ellen. *Seven Lean Years*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939, pp. vii, 187).

Years of research into the problems of agrarian America are boiled down in this small volume into a presentation so clear and so powerful, and at the same time so cool and unimpassioned, as to place it far above the average of such studies. The authors state their purpose as that of presenting the human elements in the difficulties of the American farmer. They do so, admirably, through the use of facts and figures and case

materials from the files of FERA-WPA offices. The result is a mixture of objectively handled data which manages to give an intensely living picture. A liberal sprinkling of photographs adds both to the concrete nature of the study and to its arousal of conviction that here is a problem which must be faced and solved, if American culture is to remain sound. The writers are quick to admit that they think reform is essential, that they have "an abiding conviction that it is important to the national welfare that positive programs of agrarian and social reform be vigorously pushed in order that misery and want will not accumulate again to the same extent as in the past." (p. v).

The agrarian problem is *not* a product of the depression years, they maintain; but from 1931 to 1937 industrial collapse piled upon a previous agricultural decline made the situation desperate. But for decades adverse farm prices, soil abuse, leaching of the needed elements of the land, the one-crop system, cultivation of lands which should never have known a plow, exhaustion of forest and mineral resources which supplemented farm income, and accumulating debts had been at work blighting American agriculture. These factors, together with the educational system, the surplus of population in the sub-marginal agricultural areas, poor health, the growth of tenancy and the collapse of the "agricultural ladder", and the plight of the dwellers in villages dependent upon decreased or vanished agriculture and small industry are treated briefly but with a surprising amount of detailed information.

Nor are these authors without a program of their own to offer. The final chapter is devoted to a discussion of the relief measures they believe will prevent a recurrence of the conditions of the past few years. This includes crop control, cooperative farms, something approaching parity of agricultural and industrial prices, a population policy which will direct rural residents into areas of greater promise and will aid rural youth in a better choice of occupation; planned use of land; control of erosion; an increase in rural industry to serve as a source of supplementary income for the farm family; a revision of the tenancy system; better rural housing; better educational facilities for children and for adults; extension of public health facilities to rural districts; an equalization of taxation and of public expenditures as between urban and rural areas. All such programs should be set up and administered on regional bases, the authors argue. Through such a multiple-factor program, they see a real hope of keeping American agriculture above the peasant standard.

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

The University of Texas

Sharp, Walter Rice, *The Government of the French Republic*. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1938. pp. ix, 373.)

Among recent texts dealing with the governmental arrangements and political institutions of particular foreign states this volume in Van Nostrand's "Governments of Modern Europe" series is exceptional in its comprehensiveness and will be welcome in this period of kaleidoscopic

politics because of its up-to-date character. Events are referred to as recent as the preliminary negotiations of September 1938 leading up to the Munich agreement. The author's presentation of the forms and issues of French politics has been carefully adjusted both to the traditional cleavage along the twin lines of "régime" and social reform, stressed in our older political science literature on the Third Republic, as well as to the newer and more sharp social cleavage dating from the February riots of 1934 and the subsequent development of the Popular Front as a counter-weight against the fascistic tendencies of reactionary groups.

Particularly commendable is the attention which the author gives to the various aspects of national administrative organization and function, not merely with respect to the traditional police and control agencies of government but also to the expanding social and regulatory services exemplifying the tendency which the French refer to as *étatisme*. Tariff, monetary, and agricultural policies together with social insurance and public works all receive the author's careful attention in connection with the administrative services formulating and administering policy in these matters. The general nature of French policy in the matter of social legislation as well as such detailed matters as the recent structural changes in the administration of the Bank of France are brought out in the author's treatment of French public administration. In addition considerable attention is devoted to the various pressure groups and special interests whose operations affect both the formulation and execution of public policy in France.

While the centralized character of the French governmental mechanism may justify a less extensive treatment of local government forms and practices than would be essential in considering the governments of the United States, Great Britain, or the British Dominions, it is unfortunate that the author's consideration of the French *départments* and *communes* is almost entirely in connection with their functions as administrative agents of the national government. The functions of the communal council, the nature and composition of the communal executive, and with respect to the larger communes the permanent local administrative establishment, the variations in services performed by different municipalities, and the control relationship between the communal services and the council, the mayor and his assistants, and the national administration are left largely to inference. This vagueness with respect to local government practices together with a complete omission of any consideration of the nature of colonial government and administration are the only important weaknesses which detract from the usefulness of this book as a basic text in French government.

G. LOWELL FIELD

The University of Texas

Agar, Herbert, *Pursuit of Happiness*. (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938, pp. 387.)

Mr. Agar's book, as its subtitle "The Story of American Democracy" suggests, is an ideological treatment of the Democratic party. From

Jefferson and Jackson through Calhoun and to the present, the author discusses the dominant figures of the party and the part they played in conditioning the issues and policies for which the party stood. Much of the material in the book is trite to the seasoned political scientist, but the book has withal a freshness and sprightliness that makes it good reading even concerning matters with which the reader is already familiar.

The author's prime thesis is that the Democratic party, following the lead of Jefferson, has stood for the simple formula "equal rights for all and special privileges for none." The Democratic leaders, with the principal exceptions of Calhoun, Cleveland, and the leaders in the 1920's, have subscribed at least personally to the formula. Under Calhoun's leadership the party forsook its basic tenets for the pro-slavery philosophy. Cleveland is described in the words of Woodrow Wilson as not a Democrat but a conservative Republican. Bryan is hailed as one of the greatest leaders of the party—a man who came nearer to returning it to the principles of the party fathers than any other between Jackson and the present Roosevelt. Wilson's efforts were rendered abortive by the coming of war.

It is quite clear that most of the developments which have taken place since the rise of parties in this country have run counter to the rule of "equal rights for all and special privileges for none." Why has this occurred? Is it because our institutions are faulty? Mr. Agar prefers to believe otherwise:

When we admit the dire truth as to what we have done with America, we proceed at once to look for something wrong with our institutions. We seldom raise the question whether something might be wrong with ourselves. Yet it is we, not our institutions, who have lived as if man's job on earth were solely to produce and consume wealth. It is we who have accepted again and again the shoddy argument that we must not assert our political ideal when it goes counter to the desires of business or finance. . .

We have never wholly lost sight of the ideal; but at critical moments we have decided not to let it interfere with 'economic progress.' And economic progress has landed us with eleven million unemployed, and many millions more whose form of employment is an insult to America. . .

In the end, whether we make a good or a bad country will depend upon what we make, individually, of ourselves. A selfish and greedy people cannot be free.

JOSEPH M. RAY

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#### BOOK NOTES

Two significant additions to the developing bibliography of Latin American history are *A History of Mexico* by Henry Bamford Parkes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938, pp. xii, 432), and *Latin America: A Brief History* by F. A. Kirkpatrick (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, pp. xi, 456). Although both books have been prepared primarily for the trade, and consequently are not the best

selections for text-book purposes, they will be welcome additions to the general reading lists of students in the Latin American field.

The *History of Mexico* by Parkes is an attempt to present in a short volume and in popular style the complete sweep of Mexican history from pre-Cortesian times to President Cárdenas. The native background is admirable. The Spanish Conquest is acceptable. The author shows that he has examined a considerable amount of monographic literature on the conquest and early colonization. However, the chapters on Spanish colonial institutions and society leave much to be desired. The subjects of Political Organization, Economic Development, and the Church are so sketchy and poorly organized as to leave the reader confused and burdened under erroneous impressions. With full consideration for the problems imposed on the author because of space limitations, there seems to be little excuse to taper off his discussions more and more as the contemporary period is approached. Indeed, because of its summary, outline character, that portion of the book covering the period since Díaz is of no particular significance or value. Although more readable than Priestley's *The Mexican Nation*, the older work has not been supplanted as the most significant and scholarly survey of Mexican history.

Nor does Kirkpatrick's *Latin America* threaten to supplant those old stand-bys W. S. Robertson, *History of the Latin American Nations* and M. W. Williams, *The People and Politics of Latin America*. Mr. Kirkpatrick, an English scholar, in attempting to present in a short volume a summary history of Latin America, worked under the same limitations as did Mr. Parkes—and with the same results. In both cases the sins are those of omission rather than commission. Less than fifty pages are devoted by Kirkpatrick to the whole colonial period of Spanish and Portuguese America. More space is given to the Independence Movement. Then short chapters are devoted to each of the Latin-American republics. The author was well-advised in organizing his material in this fashion, thereby avoiding the pit-falls of a cross-cut treatment which some recent writers have attempted, but without much success. A summary view and elementary appreciation of the historical evolution of Latin America can be gleaned from this book. The author reveals an intimate acquaintance with the recent historical bibliography of Latin America, and is most generous in acknowledging American leadership in this field.

J. L. M.

Professor John F. Cronin's *Economics and Society* (New York: American Book Company, 1939, pp. xvii, 456) is an introductory text in economic organization and problems written from a liberal Catholic point of view. The first half of the book, under the heading "Fundamentals of Modern Economic Life," traces briefly the evolution of economic society from feudalism to capitalism, describes the basic institutions and forces of the capitalistic economy and analyzes and evaluates contemporary democratic and authoritarian economic systems.

The second half deals with a selected list of economic problems, such as those concerning labor, the consumer, government, agriculture, international trade, money and banking, investment and speculation, public utility regulation and government ownership of industry.

Professor Cronin has achieved the rare feat of making an introductory text interesting and stimulating. This is due, in part, to a good literary style and in larger part to the incorporation in his analysis of the most significant and valuable findings of contemporary economic research. Emphasis throughout is on the problem of economic reform. Professor Cronin is acutely aware of the defects of the individualistic profit-making economy. He seems of the opinion that the great economic problems to which individualistic capitalism has given rise cannot be solved within the framework of its philosophy and institutions. As a way out he flatly rejects communism, somewhat less flatly right-wing socialism, with some hesitation the fascism of Mussolini and the nazism of Hitler (which he complains "have never been received with sympathy or even intelligent understanding in America"), and recommends the Catholic program of social reform as set forth in the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, *On the Condition of Labor*, and the two encyclicals of Pope Pius XI, *On Reconstructing the Social Order* and *Atheistic Communism*. This program has much in common with the corporative system of Portugal, and calls in general for a return to the medieval system of faith, order, discipline, and benevolent paternalism.

E. E. H.

In *The Diplomatic Recognition of the Border States, Part II: Estonia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939, pp. viii, 231-398) the author, Malbone W. Graham, carries forward the series that he began with Part I, devoted to the recognition of Finland. In the present study he makes a meticulous examination of available documentation, buttressed by personal interviews, to tell the story of Estonia's independence movement, of its efforts to secure recognition by the Allies, the Central Powers, and Soviet Russia and to gain admission to the League of Nations, and of its final success in these endeavors. Particularly interesting is the light the study throws on the devious diplomacy of the Powers, including the United States, anent the counter-revolutionary movements of Judenich, Kolchak, and others. The part played by the Department of State of the United States appears notably unenlightening though one may doubt that the author is justified in his suggestion that Colby's non-recognition policy laid the ground work for the Stimson policy in the Far East. This may all be in search of a law of recognition, but in reality the story could be told quite simply: Soviet Russia, in the period 1917-1921, had neither the organized strength nor, in all probability, the clear-cut desire to force the unwilling Baltic peoples once more to accept Russian rule. Since the dearest wishes of London, Paris, and Washington for the destruction of the Soviet regime were not and could not be realized, there was not only no further reason to refrain from recognizing the Baltic states

but there was a perfectly valid reason, in their view, for such recognition, to wit, to injure the Soviet regime as much as possible once Japan had moved out of the Maritime Provinces. In short, the recognition of Estonia came, not as the result of diplomatic efforts of Estonian representatives, but rather as the result of the collapse of the intrigues against Soviet Russia. That being the case, most of those diplomatic maneuverings take on a certain aspect of unreality. Diplomatic circumlocutions, like the scholarly arrangement of the minutiae of documentation, often tend to distort the lines of a simple story.

C. T.

John A. Hawgood's *Modern Constitutions Since 1787* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1939, pp. xli, 539) is a history and critical treatment of the whole development of constitutions and constitutionalism since the advent of the written constitution in the eighteenth century. The first part deals with the revolutionary constitutions of the United States and France, followed by parts II and III on the constitutions of the period of Napoleon I and of the Conservative Reaction. Part IV considers the constitutional changes of 1830 in France, the Belgian Constitution of 1831, and the fundamental changes in the British system of government connected with the Reform Bill of 1832. Federalism and nationalism, as embodied in the mid-nineteenth century constitutional developments in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, the United States, and Austria-Hungary, are taken up in parts V and VI. In the two following parts the advance of democratic constitutionalism is traced in France, Great Britain, the Succession States and elsewhere. A final part is devoted to "The Russian Alternative", "The Italian Alternative", and "The American Way". Although the book covers considerable ground and some of the chapters are necessarily brief, the process of selection of essential facts has been well done and the style of writing is excellent. Moreover, it fills a real gap and will be decidedly useful to students of political thought and constitutional history in providing in a single volume material that has hitherto been scattered through many volumes.

O. D. W.

In his *Manual of Government in the United States*. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1939, pp. xi, 791.) R. K. Gooch offers an interesting solution to the problem of providing an adequate combination of sources and commentary for the Introductory Course in American Government. Professor Gooch believes that the conventional text-book approach is unsatisfactory in that it ordinarily leads to an over-emphasis of secondary material and a slighting of sources. His remedy is an obvious one, yet one which is in a sense new. The approach "... is based on a principle roughly analogous to that of the 'case-book method.'" The author presents an account of government in the United States by joining much documentary material with brief commentary.

This method is followed throughout the book in which, after an introductory background, structure and function are successively treated—National, State, and Local Government being discussed comparatively under the same topics. I find certain objections to the arrangement of chapters such as the placing of the general principles of the American constitutional system at the end of the book. However, the topics are easily subject to different orders except for those who teach one level of government completely before proceeding to another. For those, rearrangement will involve numerous page assignments. Despite the possibility for such criticism this *Manual* is well worth the careful consideration of anyone in sympathy with the general principle of presentation.

W. D. W.

Two recent publications in the field of political thought are particularly noteworthy: *Political Thought, The European Tradition* (New York: The Viking Press, 1939, pp. xxviii, 485.) by J. P. Mayer in co-operation with R. H. S. Crossman, P. Kecskemeti, E. Kohn-Bramstedt, and C. J. S. Sprigge; and *The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939, pp. xxiii, 224) by Michael Oakeshott. In the first, only the initial four chapters are devoted to political thought before 1600. These deal, respectively, with the ideas of the Greeks, the Romans, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance. The remaining seven chapters are taken up with a general consideration of the seventeenth century, and thereafter with the contributions of particular countries. Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, America, and Russia are treated in turn, each in a particular chapter. The Oakeshott volume consists largely of well-chosen brief excerpts from the writings of leading thinkers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and from official documents and constitutions. These are arranged under five divisions as follows: "Representative Democracy", "Catholicism", "Communism", "Fascism", and "National Socialism". Both volumes are departures, in arrangement at least, from the usual treatises and "readings". Both place emphasis on present-day movements in political thought, but with due regard for backgrounds.

O. D. W.

T. V. Smith's *The Promise of American Politics*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. xxix, 308) is a second edition. The first edition, as Mr. Smith states in the preface, was addressed particularly to fellow-politicians and fellow-citizens of Illinois. This new edition is "to acknowledge with gratitude the audience wider than Illinois and to accomodate the style to such critics as cannot allow the author . . . to indulge his natural sentiment for fellow citizens without the critics feeling themselves sentimentalized." Mr. Smith is a past State Senator from the fifth district of Illinois, Member of Congress from that State, and Professor of Philosophy at the University of Chi-

ago. He combines a wealth of practical political experience with a profoundly philosophical mind and a keen sense of humor—a combination rarely seen in philosophers, politicians, or writers. The thesis of the book is that there is a promise of American politics, which the author develops from a comparative and analytical survey of the various "isms", including Individualism, Liberalism, Fascism, Communism, Parliamentarianism, and Americanism. The book is alive and interesting, and well worth the reading of the average layman, the student of politics, or the scholar.

J. W. D.

*America and the World Crisis* (Dallas: The Arnold Foundation, 1939, pp. xvi, 187.) edited by S. D. Myres, Jr., is the sixth in a series of annual proceedings of the Institute of Public Affairs at Southern Methodist University. The volume contains fourteen papers or addresses delivered before meetings held March 6-11, 1939. In addition to contributions from members of the faculties of The University of Texas, Southern Methodist University, Texas State College for Women, Texas Christian University, and Trinity University there are included addresses by Clyde Eagleton, F. F. Figgures, Werner A. Bohnstedt, Peter Molyneaux, Frank H. King, Rushton Coulborn, and Baroness Adda von Breunner-Bozeman.

O. D. W.

*The Initiative and Referendum in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938, pp. vi, 423-598) by V. O. Key, Jr. and Winston W. Crouch is a thorough description and analysis of popular legislation in California and should revive interest in a study of the operation of the initiative and referendum during recent years in other states. This volume is divided into nine chapters in which are considered such topics as the politics and product of the initiative, the referendum, campaigns and campaign costs, electoral behavior, the petition, and attempts to change the initiative. A final chapter is devoted to general conclusions. Tables throughout, an appendix, and a bibliographical note are also added.

O. D. W.

John Spencer Bassett's *A Short History of the United States* has been revised, enlarged, and published in a third edition by Richard H. Bassett (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, pp. xvii, 1039). Also *The New Deal in Action, 1933-1938* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, pp. 69.) by Arthur Meier Schlesinger has been issued as a supplement to *Political and Social Growth of the United States, 1852-1933* (Macmillan, 1933.) by the same author. The bringing up to date of these two excellent texts in United States history will be pleasing news to teachers and students.

O. D. W.

Columbia University Press has recently published a new study of Voltaire, *The Spirit of Voltaire* (New York: 1938, pp. xiii, 314) by Norman L. Torrey. Voltaire's temperament and personal associations are analysed as well as his principal ideas. His relationship to Rousseau, his idea of benevolent despotism, and his role as "Deist, Mystic or Humanist?", as presented in chapters IV, VI, and VIII, will be of particular interest to students of his social philosophy.

O. D. W.